

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

CONTAINING

THE TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS
OF THE SOCIETY.

VOL. XVIII.

1909.



New Plymouth, N.Z.:

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1909.

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THE JOURNAL

POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

THE TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS
OF THE SOCIETY

VOL. XXIII

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VOL. XVIII.—1909.

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AS AT 1ST JANUARY, 1909.

The sign * before a name indicates an original member or founder.

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- 1895-1896—Right Rev. W. L. Williams, M.A., D.D.
- 1897-1898—The Rev. W. T. Habens, B.A.
- 1899-1900—J. H. Pope.
- 1901-1903—E. Tregear, F.R.H.S. etc.
- 1904-1909—S. Percy Smith, F.R.G.S.

LIST OF EXCHANGES.

THE following is the list of Societies, etc., etc., to which the JOURNAL is sent and from most of which we receive exchanges:—

High Commissioner of New Zealand, 13 Victoria Street, Westminster London, S.W.

Anthropologische, Ethnographische, etc., Gesellschaft, Vienna, Austria.

Anthropologie, Société d', 15 Rue Ecole de Medicin, Paris.

Anthropologia Societa, Museo Nazionale di Anthropologia, *via* Gino Capponi, Florence, Italy.

Anthropological Society, Royal, of Australia, c/o Board of International Exchanges, Sydney.

Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, 3 Hanover Square, London, W.

Anthropologie, Ecole d', 15 Rue Ecole de Medicin, Paris.

Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, 5 Elizabeth Street Sydney.

American Oriental Society, 245 Bishop Street, Newhaven, Conn., U.S.A.

Anthropology, Department of, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

Bataviaasch Genootschap, Batavia, Java.

Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, H.I.

Ethnological Survey, Manila, Philippine Islands.

General Assembly Library, Wellington, N.Z.

Géographie, Société de, de Paris, Boulevard St. Germain 184, Paris.

Geographical Society, The American, 15 West, 81st Street, New York.

Historical Society, Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands.

Institute, The New Zealand, Wellington, N.Z.

Indian Research Society, The, 32 Creek Row, Calcutta.

Japan Society, 20 Hanover Square, London, W.

Kongl, Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets, Akademien, Stockholm, Sweden.

Koninklijk Instituut, 14 Van Galenstraat, The Hague, Holland.

Na Mata, Editor, Suva, Fiji.

Public Library, New Plymouth, N.Z.

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Fifty-Seventh Street, Chicago.

Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology, Harvard University,
Cambridge, U.S.A.

Royal Geographical Society, 1 Saville Row, London.

Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, Brisbane.

Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, c/o G. Collingridge, Waronga,
N.S.W.

Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, 70 Queen Street, Melbourne.

Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, Adelaide.

Royal Society, Burlington House, London.

Royal Society of New South Wales, 5 Elizabeth Street, Sydney.

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 87 Park Street, Calcutta.

Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London.

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University of California, Library Exchange Department, Berkeley,
California.

Wisconsin Academy of Science and Arts, Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

*Held at the Library, Technical School, New Plymouth,
2nd February, 1909.*

PRESENT—The President, Members of Council, and other gentlemen.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed, together with the Report of the Council, and accounts, which were ordered to be printed in the next issue of the JOURNAL.

The resignation of Mr. W. Kerr as a member of Council on his removal to Whanganui was received with regret.

Mr. S. Percy Smith was re-elected President for the ensuing year, as also were Messrs. Fraser and Corkill as members of the Council, and Mr. W. W. Smith was elected to fill Mr. Kerr's place. Mr. W. D. Webster was re-elected Auditor.

Mr. S. Savage, of Rarotonga, was elected an ordinary member of the Society.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

For the year ending 31st December, 1908.

IN presenting its sixteenth annual report the Council has pleasure in congratulating members on the continued well-being of the Society. Our work has gone steadily on, in the preservation of original matter relating to the Polynesian race, as in former years. The JOURNAL has appeared with regularity at the end of each quarter; a larger than ordinary space, during the last year, having been devoted to the "History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast," the material for which has been accumulating for the last twenty-five years. It will take another year to complete it. Mr. Churchill's paper on "Samoan Phonetics in the Broader Sense," denotes an advance in the science of Philology on original lines, the value of which will be appreciated more and more as time moves on.

In last annual report, attention was drawn to the offer made by one of our original members to donate £100 on condition that another £400 was raised by the Society, with a view of preserving in print several valuable documents in the possession of the Society, which the limited funds at our disposal did not allow of publication in the pages of the JOURNAL. So far, response to our invitation to aid this fund has not been so liberal as might have been expected. But Parliament at its last Session generously contributed £100 towards it, which, with sums received and promised raises the fund to over £160. The Council would welcome further contributions, which would enable us to make a start on these "Memoirs," a work that must be undertaken soon, or there will be a danger of its not being done at all.

The Council is pleased to be able to report that our library, for the first time in its existence, is lodged in a practically fire-proof building, and all the books now brought together and properly arranged so that anything wanted can be easily found. A card index, or catalogue, of the whole is also nearly complete. The Library increases with rapid steps through presentations and exchanges, and it has now become a question of whether we should not strictly confine our exchanges to matters more especially connected with the object for which the Society was founded. To this end a Committee of the Council will shortly report. It will not be very many years before the wall space at our command will again be inadequate to hold all our books, if the present rate of increase continues. In the subjects of Anthropology, Ethnology, Philology, Geography, etc., our Library is probably ahead of any other in the Dominion. The Council regrets that it is not more frequently used; but the time will yet come when its value to students will be inestimable. The Library is insured for £500.

On the subject of the New Maori Dictionary, Archdeacon W. H. Williams informs us that fair progress has been made in the compilation on to cards of the many contributions from various sources received, and which continue to accumulate. There is yet a good deal of work to be transcribed on to the cards, but Mr. Williams hopes, should his other duties permit, to commence the fair copy for the printer during the year. None but those who have undertaken similar work are aware of the great amount of patient and careful thought involved in the process of incorporating and testing contributions from so many sources, and the translation of the many examples illustrative of the meanings of words and phrases. We have reason to believe this will be the best Dictionary of any of the Polynesian dialects.

The Council is glad to note that there seems to be an awakening in many of the educated classes of this country to the necessity of preserving the Maori language in its purity. The New Zealand University has lately included Maori as one of the subjects for examination, which is a step in the right direction. But it is to be hoped that this may some day merge into a chair of Polynesian Ethnology and Philology, and that funds may be found for the endowment of research in those and cognate matters. The importance of these subjects when studied from the Polynesian basis is as yet hardly appreciated. The light they will yet throw on the early history of mankind is only at present perceived, and that but obscurely, by a small band of Polynesian scholars. In the meantime our Society is preparing the way for this time, by preserving all that is possible of original matter for use in the future.

Our losses by death during the past period, so far as can be ascertained, are limited to an old member and to one of our Life members. Since the end of the

year there died at Auckland on the 23rd January, one of our original members Mr. C. E. Nelson, who was, if not the foremost, certainly one of the best Maori scholars in the Dominion. He was not only a first-class Maori scholar, but was acquainted with Hebrew, Sanskrit, most of the European languages, and also nearly all the dialects of Polynesia. His acquaintance with esoteric Maori knowledge was very great; but unfortunately he has—it is believed—left none of this on record. He was at all times most ready to communicate his great knowledge to those who sought it. Mr. Nelson was the son of a Professor of Ethnology in the University of Christiania, Sweden. He had lived in New Zealand nearly sixty years.

There were thirteen new members elected during the year, and three resignations were received, whilst some names were struck off the roll for non-payment of subscriptions. The following are the numbers of members as at the 1st January 1909 :—

Patron	..	1
Honorary Members		8
Corresponding Members		16
Ordinary Members		174
		<hr/>
		199

The above figures show a decrease of one member as compared with last year.

Financially, we end the year satisfactorily, in as much as we have a credit balance. The Treasurer's accounts attached show our position on the 31st December, 1908. The Council regrets to report that there are seventeen members in arrear with their subscriptions for one year, and fifteen for two years or more. Most of these latter will have to be struck off the roll for non-compliance with the rules.

POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

BALANCE SHEET FOR YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1908.

RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Balance from last year ..	12	14 6	Thomas Avery, Printing and Publishing Journal—		
Grant from the General Government in aid of Publication	No. 4 of Vol. XVI. ..	34	0 0
of Maori Dictionary..	48	14 3	" 1 " XVII. ..	40	10 0
Members' Subscriptions and Sale of Journals ..	166	9 10	" 2 " " " ..	33	5 0
			" 3 " " " ..	31	17 6
			Stationery ..	139	12 6
			" Riddle and Johnson—furniture ..	3	12 6
			Express Co.—shifting Library ..	5	7 6
			Borough Council—rent ..	0	14 0
			Cheque book ..	0	2 6
			Bank charges ..	0	2 6
			Insurance Premium on Library (£500) ..	0	10 0
			Capital Account—amount repaid ..	1	1 8
			Postages ..	10	0 0
			H. W. William—expenses on account of Maori Dictionary ..	5	16 7
			Balance at Bank of New South Wales ..	48	14 3
				12	4 7
				£227	18 7

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Balance January 1st, 1908 ..	115	7 3	By Deposit with New Plymouth Savings Bank—		
" Amount transferred from Current Account ..	10	0 0	January 1st, 1909 ..	129	7 3
" Interest New Plymouth Savings Bank ..	4	0 0			
				£129	7 3

Examined and found correct—
WILLIAM D. WEBSTER, Hon Auditor.

W. H. SKINNER }
W. L. NEWMAN }

New Plymouth, January 27th, 1909.

HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF THE TARANAKI COAST.

CHAPTER XI.—CONTINUED.

PUKE-TAPU PA AND THE EPIDEMICS NAMED TE REWHAREWHA AND TE ARIKI.

More than one reference has been already made to the sacred character of the old *pa*, named Puke-tapu (or sacred hill), situated on the coast five and a-half miles north of New Plymouth, just to the north of the Bell Block. It held this character from very ancient days, because in its neighbourhood was a renowned burial ground where the chiefs of many parts found a final resting place, and, moreover, it is said to have been one of the earliest settlements on this coast. At the present time much of the old *pa* has been blown away by the winds, and parts are covered by sands from the beach, which is immediately below it. The old palisading of the *pa* could be seen as late as the early fifties, but there is scarcely a vestige left of any occupation beyond the shell heaps, now to be seen, that formed the refuse places of the *pa*.

The place has been depopulated on several occasions. The first time was about the year 1790-95, when that scourge known as Te Rewharewha—an epidemic of some kind—caused the death of most of the inhabitants. This scourge was not confined to this place for it ran very generally through the North Island, and, according to the accounts of the old Maoris, it carried off many thousands of people. Here, at Puke-tapu, it was contagious. It is said that if one affected person touched another the disease was communicated, and the victims died within a few days. It raged with such violence at Puke-tapu that there were barely enough people left alive to bury the dead, and that it was only by abandoning the *pa* that any of its inhabitants were saved alive.*

*See Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. XIV., p. 21, for another instance of a large *pa* losing most of its people through this epidemic.

The above, however, was not the only occasion on which these people suffered very heavily from a similar cause, as did those of the surrounding districts. This was the epidemic known as *Te Arika* which spread through the country from Coromandel in 1820, and which has already been described. Puke-tapu suffered with the other *pas* of the neighbourhood.

LOSS OF THE PUKE-TAPU FISHING FLEET.

But a more serious loss to Puke-tapu *pa* occurred, as nearly as it can be placed, quite early in the nineteenth century, and therefore between the two epidemics described above. The following is the story as told to me by Heta-Te-Kauri: One very fine morning when every sign seemed propitious, and on one of the lucky days for fishing according to the Maori "*Almanac*,"* and it was decided by the chiefs that all the able-bodied men should proceed to sea in their fleet of canoes to catch *hapuku*, or groper, which is only found at a considerable distance out in deep water and on banks well known to the people. The name of the particular bank, or *hapuku* ground, belonging to the Puke-tapu people, was Wai-tawhetawheta, which is so far out that the canoes whilst there cannot be seen from the shore-line. The position of this fishing-bank is determined by the fact that Cape Egmont, or the point to the north of it, is clearly visible in line with the outer Sugar-loaf islands, which means that it is about ten miles off shore. The number of men who went out on this fishing excursion was somewhat over two hundred in twenty or more canoes, "for this," says Heta, "was in the days when men were plentiful." Before starting, as the canoes laid on the beach at the edge of the water all ready to put to sea, and each man was choosing his seat and placing there his paddle, tackle, etc., old Moke-uhi, the priest of Puke-tapu *pa* came down and placed his hooks, lines, etc. at the *taumanu*, or seat third from the stern, and then went back to the *pa* for something forgotten. Shortly after another man came with his tackle, who wanted that particular seat. "Whose things are these?" said he and without waiting for an answer, threw them over into the water. When Moke-uhi returned and saw what had happened he was very angry and refused to join the party. He returned to the *pa* consumed with rage at the insult offered him.

Determined on revenge, he waited until the fleet had reached Wai-tawhetawheta—the fishing ground—and were busy at their work, and then he went to a high hill near Puke-tapu named Matakita (there is no hill higher than Puke-tapu now—it has probably been

* Every one of the days of the month had its proper name and each was known as propitious, or otherwise, for fishing. No Maori would venture out to sea on an unpropitious day.

blown away), from whence he could just see some of the canoes on the horizon. Here the old man commenced his *karakias* to his gods; first calling on the south-west wind to arise in storm, but without result. Then in turn he addressed the north, the west, and the east with like want of success. At last he turned to the south and such were the powers of his *karakia* that very shortly after a furious *tonga* set in and blew with such force that the air, even at Puke-tapu, was thick with leaves and small branches, though a long way from the forest over which the wind came. This south wind was dead ahead for the canoes out at sea when they wanted to return.

By this time some of the canoes had finished their fishing and were returning, and thus met the gale. Others were still out on the fishing ground. The seas rose, and the strength of the wind so much increased that the canoes could not face it, and very soon many of them commenced to swamp and their crews to drown, for no man could swim against such furious blasts. Other canoes held on and tried to make the shore further north, but very soon, in one after another, the crews sank with exhaustion; the canoes filled and their occupants were drowned. One only of the fleet that turned to the north managed to escape and landed at Ure-nui with only one man alive in her, whose name was Kawe-nui.

Of the others, the only one that escaped was blown right out to sea, but her crew managed to keep her afloat by hard paddling and bailing—they kept the wind on the quarter and made a south-westerly course. As night came on they made a meal of their raw fish, and, apparently, the wind must have shifted to the east and north, as it often does after a south-easter. All that night, all the next day, the next night and day and part of the following one they kept up as best they could continuing their strenuous exertions at bailing, etc. At last one after another succumbed to cold, hunger, and fatigue, and died. Three people died, but the fourth, named Te Kohitā, finally drifted ashore at a place named Te Kawau, which Heta says is near Motu-pipi, in Tasman Bay, South Island. A young woman, going down to the beach for shellfish, discovered the man's body lying apparently dead on the beach. She rushed back to the village, which was not far off, and called out, "I have found a man on the beach. I don't know if he is dead or not." The chief of the village said, "We will all go and see," so several people went down and there found that the man was still alive, but insensible. They carried him up to the village, and by degrees brought him back to life.

These people were, says Heta, Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri. Kohitā eventually married the woman who first discovered him.

The following confirmation of the above story was told me by Mr. James Mackay—at one time Native Commissioner for the Nelson District: Some time before the year 1859, when Mr. Mackay lived at Taitapu (or Massacre Bay—Tasman Bay), he heard from a slave of

Tama-i-hengia's (of Ngati-Toa), who was a member of the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri tribe, that his grandfather was with others blown away from the Taranaki coast whilst out fishing during a gale. The canoe, with ten bodies in it (Heta says four), was found drifted ashore on the north head of West Whanganui Harbour at Mikonui, his grandfather alone being alive. He was found by a Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri woman, who took him to a fire and by her efforts brought the man back to life, as it were. The other bodies were eaten by the tribe. The woman took this man as a husband, and Mr. Mackay's informant was their grandson. It is more likely that West Whanganui is the place where the canoe drifted ashore, rather than near Motu-pipi, as Heta says.

It is probable that the above incident occurred subsequent to the fall of the Rewarewa *pa*, but it is uncertain.

EARLY NORTHERN EXPEDITIONS TO TARANAKI.

(Circa 1810.)

So far as can be learnt from Native histories—communicated by word of mouth to myself and others during these many years past—it was not until the early years of the nineteenth century that the tribes living north of the isthmus of Auckland began to extend their warlike enterprises to the southern parts of the North Island.

With regard to the immediate causes that led to many of these expeditions we are often left in the dark. Those which followed the west coast of the North Island are generally stated to have originated in the desire to acquire the fine flax garments made from the superior kinds of Phormium, for which the Taranaki coast is celebrated. No doubt the mere desire of man-slaying actuated those parties of warriors who joined in the forays to a considerable extent; and later, the acquisition of "heads" for sale to the ships visiting the north, together with the desire to possess slaves to prepare flax to barter for muskets, was an important factor.

MURU-PAENGA'S FIRST EXPEDITION.

1810.

The earliest of these northern expeditions that can be traced relates to the first expedition of the Ngati-Whatua tribe of Kaipara under their distinguished warrior chieftain, Muru-paenga. From a consideration of the circumstances this foray must be placed at about the year 1810. We know few particulars of Muru-paenga's doings on this occasion, though in the early sixties I had the opportunity and did hear much about him from the Kaipara people, but not then recognising their value, failed to record them. Enquiries made of late years have failed to do more than establish the fact of the expeditions having taken place—the old men who knew the particulars of them are long since dead.

The expedition came down the coast, but whether the members of it were treated as enemies or friends in the northern part of the district is not known. We first hear of it at Manu-korihi *pa*, on the north bank of Waitara, where the *hapu* of the same name lives, and who, as has been shown, were related to the Ngati-Rongo *hapu* of Ngati-Whatua, through Te Raraku of that tribe, as has been explained. Consequently the party were welcomed by the local people and stayed there some time. Muru-paenga himself was also connected with Ngati-Rongo, and so we may suppose was all the more welcome. From Manu-korihi the party continued their journey into the territories of the Taranaki tribe, where, says Mr. Skinner, "Muru-paenga was so delighted with the country and its fertility, its stores of food, the beauty and variety of the flax growing so luxuriantly in all parts, the quality of the mats, or *Kaitaka* cloaks—the finest and best in all New Zealand it is said, that he broke forth into song and composed a *waiata*, which is still sung by the people of Taranaki, in which he chanted the praises of the land he had come to desolate." It is said that Tatara-i-maka *pa* was attacked in this expedition; it may be so, but probably his doings in his second foray have been confused with this. But beyond this, no details have come down—unless, indeed, some of the incidents to be described in the next raid really belong to that of Muru-paenga's. The northern invaders, in this raid, had no guns, but were armed with their Maori weapons.

It was this expedition that gave rise to the following song:—

Na Muru-paenga ra, tana kawenga mai,
I kite ai au i nga moana nei,
Kowai ka matau ki to tau e awhi ai.
Tera ano ia nga mahi i ako ai,
Kei nga hurihanga ki Okehu ra-i-a.

Thro' Muru' was I hither brought,
And then first saw these seas so strange,
Who knows if some other lover
Within thine arms has been embraced?
Yonder my affections are bestowed
At the bends and turns at Okehu.

The above was composed and sung by a young woman of good birth, who had been taken prisoner by Muru-paenga's party and carried to the north. She had left behind at Tarakihi, near Warea, her lover Puia-tu-awa; but was solicited to become the wife of one of the *taua*—hence her song.

TAU-KAWAU'S EXPEDITION.

1816-17.

The next northern expedition was that under Tau-kawau of Nga-Puhi, and the only means of fixing the date of this is, "that it

was one or two years before that of Tu-whare and others"—which latter there is little reason to doubt was in 1818. This party fought its way through the Ati-Awa and Taranaki territories as far as Puara-te-rangi, a *pa* situated near Pu-nehu, not far from the present village of Pihama. Of the adventures of this expedition on the road we have little information, except a few notes to be found in the Maori account of the Tu-whare—Te Rau-paraha raid of 1819-20, and these notes are very wanting in detail. But for the fact that this is always alluded to by the Taranaki people as a Nga-Puhi foray, and the known presence of Rewa, a high chief of the Bay of Islands, with the party, we should scarcely know from which part it came.

The following is from the account referred to: "Some of our expedition wished to go a different route from the main body to purchase native garments (*Kaitakas*); there were twice fifty of us of this mind. The reason of this was, the Taranaki people had great knowledge of weaving *Kaitakas*, and their *muka* (prepared flax) called *Tihore*, or *Takiri-kau* was very superior. When we went to purchase these garments in exchange for Native weapons we quarrelled amongst ourselves and eventually got to fighting. The reason of that strife was, some of our party desired to secure all the best garments; and because of that strife we again divided, fifty of us going one way, fifty another. One company went with Pangari (of Lower Hokianga), and that man decided to do such works as would cause his name to be heard of by the many of the land. As the party of Pangari travelled along they met an old woman who was gathering *tutu* berries to make wine; her they killed, then cooked and ate her. Whilst they were cooking her, and when the people put "the fish" into the oven, the fire blazed up; this was said to be an omen for them that they should soon see another *pa*, and if they assaulted it they would take it. The flame of the oven represented the courage of the old woman welling up and leaving the body, and hence it was believed the courage of the tribe of the old woman had evaporated. This old woman was a *tohunga*, and therefore the courage of her tribe would cease when they stood up in battle. The oven had been covered in and the "fish" was cooked and being uncovered by the fifty men when the spies returned, who had been sent out to look for the people of the country. The spies said, "The people to whom the old woman belonged have heard of the murder, and the *taua hikutoto*, or avenging party, has arisen to attack us."

"Then the fifty men seized their belts, girded themselves and fell into line for the fight. The enemy appeared and occupied the summit of a hillock. They were very numerous and soon the party retreated. In fact they fled. Whilst retreating, Pangari was wounded in the leg with a *kotaha* (or sling-spear) which had been thrown by the enemy. Nga-Puhi continued to retreat until they got a long distance away

when they laid in hiding in a swamp, selecting a hard place in the bog; here they arranged themselves in rank in three parties. One party went to search for food, because they had left the body of the old woman behind in the oven, and this party met the old woman's tribe. They took some reeds and bound them together (to stand on) and fought the enemy at the side of the swamp, and the tribe of Taranaki was defeated, the bodies of the dead becoming food for Nga-Puhi. Pangari declared that hunger, thirst, and fear had deprived his tongue of saliva.

"After this the fifty men returned to the main body of Nga-Puhi and travelled altogether, abandoning their journey to collect *Kaitakas*.

"When we got to the *pa* at Waimate, and after three nights there we found a woman, whom we cooked and ate. Just afterwards one of the Taranaki people appeared and called out, "To-morrow our *taua* will appear to chastise you for your murder." At daylight we occupied an old *pa*, and later on in the day the Taranaki *taua* appeared coming up a valley at the foot of the *pa* occupied by Nga-Puhi. That *pa* was situated at the end of a point which jutted out into a chasm and was surrounded with perpendicular cliffs, excepting one part where it joined on to the mainland. (This description fits the Orangi-tuapeka *pa* close to Waimate and three miles south-east from the town of Manaia.) Nga-Puhi heard the encouraging words of the chief of the Taranaki tribe urging his men to assault the *pa*. The words of the chief to his people were like this, "*Au! Au! ki toa!*" which in the Nga-Puhi dialect would be, "*Ana! Ana! kia toa!*"—"Ha! Ha! be brave!") Then their shouts of defiance were heard, "*Au! Au! ki ka'a ki ka'a,*" which is in Nga-Puhi, "*Ana! Ana! kia kaha!*"—"Ha! Ha! be strong!")

"The Taranaki tribe then assaulted the Nga-Puhi *pa*. The army of that people was one thousand once told strong. They scaled the sides of the gully, and then the one hundred and fifty of Nga-Puhi fled, followed by the Taranaki *taua*, who killed six of the Nga-Puhi chiefs as they fled. So Nga-Puhi retreated to a distance; their dead were left to the enemy, as also some in the *pa* they retreated from. Finding that Taranaki did not follow quickly, Nga-Puhi halted and then divided into four parties to await the oncoming of Taranaki; they waited on the path. Presently Taranaki were seen on a ridge across a depression from the hillock occupied by Nga-Puhi. Between the two parties ran a small stream, whilst in the rear of Nga-Puhi was the forest which they could fly to if defeated by Taranaki. It was now evening, and Taranaki made no sign of attacking Nga-Puhi, but instead proceeded to entrench themselves; the inner wall of their *maioro*, or rampart, was made of fern and *korokiu* (veronica), and tree-fern stems were used to strengthen the *ahuriri*, or trench.

"Then Nga-Puhi sent their *tohunga*, or priest, to the stream to

"uplift" his incantations so that Nga-Puhi might be brave and strong to smite their enemies. Whilst the *tohunga* was engaged in his incantations, Nga-Puhi assembled to discuss such measures as they could devise to put in force when the battle commenced, for the reason that Nga-Puhi were without *take*, or cause, in this fight—nothing but a desire to acquire *Kaitakas*.

"Now the Taranaki people were very numerous and far exceeded Nga-Puhi in number. Hence it was decided before the rays of the sun appeared to send one of our divisions against the defences of Taranaki, there to assault them by making a dash and spear as many as they could with their long spears; whilst another party went along by the edge of the forest, so that when the first party assaulted the others should take Taranaki in the rear. Other three divisions were to assault the place in different directions so that Taranaki should be confused at the number of points of attack. The divisions of Nga-Puhi that remained were to guard the camp, lest it should be taken.

"All these various plans were carried out and the result was that a great many of Taranaki were killed, among them fourteen chiefs, who were all eaten by Nga-Puhi, and their heads preserved to be taken back to the Nga-Puhi homes to be jeered at by the people."

Such is the account given by Pangari to the unknown writer of the account of Tu-whare's expedition of 1819-20, with which, apparently, Pangari went to Taranaki.

It was after this that Nga-Puhi attacked Puara-te-rangi *pa*, near Punehu, when in the fight Tamaroa of Taranaki, with his weapon, a *pou-whenua* made of *maire*, struck a blow at Tau-kawau's legs, both of which he broke. This caused the *taua* to turn in their tracks, and then make their way homeward.

Mr. Skinner adds, "The Ngati-Mahanga people of Taranaki had fled into the forest around the base of Mount Egmont. Some of them, however, with the southern part of Taranaki, under Nga-Tai-rakau-nui, retired to Puara-te-rangi *pa*, situated on the sea coast a little under half a mile north of the mouth of the Punehu river. This expedition killed a Taranaki chief named Mokowera, who is said to have been a son of Tu-poki of Ngati-Tama by a Taranaki woman. Tau-kawau's *mere* was found sometime afterwards partly covered with sand close to this spot, and, after passing through several hands, is now in the possession of Tohu,* Maori prophet of Parihaka." Tau-kawau's body was taken back by his people as far as Manu-korihi, where he was buried at Rohutu, on the north bank of Waitara.

The Taranaki people say that Tau-kawau had been specially invited to come on this *taua* by Ati-Awa in order that he might assist that tribe in fighting Taranaki in order to square some of their tribal

*Tohu died 5th February, 1907.

quarrels. A great many Ati-Awa from Waitara joined in this expedition. On the arrival of Tau-kawau at Manu-korihi, the Ati-Awa people presented him with a *taiaha* as a *rakau-whakarawe*.

There is a *tangi*, or lament, for Mokowera, the Taranaki chief killed by Tau-kawau, which will be found at p. 29, "Wars of the Northern against the Southern tribes in the nineteenth century."

In this expedition Nga-Puhi had three muskets, a fact which is referred to in the above lament, when, it is said, Rewa, of the Bay of Islands, shot Mokowera.

I have fixed the date of Tau-kawau's expedition at 1816-17 because all my numerous enquiries show that it was about that date, and my informants are consistent in their statements about it. But the following quotations from Marsden's "Journal" (in possession of Dr. Hocken) seems to contradict it, though I think it probable from Marsden's unfamiliarity with the Maori language he has mixed up two expeditions in the one statement. ". . . . Another party connected with Hongi was carrying on war on the west side of the island at Taranaki; said to be very populous, with two hundred men from the Bay of Islands. A man of high rank, named Tau-kawau has been killed in this expedition, but his head was severed and brought back with them. They also cut off all the flesh from his bones and burnt it, but brought back the bones which they carried a very long way overland. They arrived to-day—29th September, 1823."

MOTU-TAWA AT MOKAU.

1812.

Again the scene of our story shifts to the northern frontier, where events were happening that had far-reaching results.

After the great expedition of Ngati-Haua and other tribes, which came to Pou-tama to seek revenge for the death of Tai-porutu (see page 195, Vol. XVII.) had been hurled back by the bravery of Ngati-Tama, there was apparently a transient peace or truce between the latter tribe and their northern neighbours at Mokau for some ten or twelve years. At any rate, no incident has come to my knowledge marking that period, though, no doubt, the enmity in which these tribes had lived for so many generations would not allow of any available chance of striking a blow to be passed over. But there were no great expeditions, and both sides would, no doubt, be glad of a few years' rest in order that the boys should grow to maturity and be trained as warriors.

But about the year 1812 (so far as can be ascertained) hostilities set in again through an act of brutality on the part of Ngati-Tama whilst on a visit to Motu-tawa. Motu-tawa is a pretty little island

situated in a deep bay in the Mokau river, about three-quarters of a mile within the heads on the northern shore, now covered with bushes and small trees. It is about half an acre in extent, with cliffs nearly all round, rising up from the waters to about fifty or sixty feet, but not equally steep on all sides. At low water the bay is dry, but as the tide rises it surrounds the island to a depth of perhaps four to six feet of water. On the flat top of this island in former days was built a strong palisaded and embanked *pa*, the refuge and stronghold of the Mokau people. On one side is a convenient spring of fresh water.

Ngati-Tama were apparently on such terms with the Mokau people about this time that they were admitted into the *pa* and were hospitably feasted, but at the same time my informant (old Rihari of Mokau) says that they were on a *taua*. What the exact circumstances were are not of much consequence. But during the feast two boys of the *pa*, named Pitonga and Nga-whakarewa-kauri, helped themselves to the food provided and set apart for Ngati-Tama. They were reproved for this but again repeated the offence. This roused the wrath of Ngati-Tama who—probably in seeking a *take*, or cause, against the *pa*, saw here their chance—knocked the unfortunate boys on the head. There was an immediate rush to arms and a desperate fight commenced between the two parties. But it was not of long duration; Ngati-Tama drove their hosts pell mell out of the *pa* and took possession of it. The parents of the boys, together with the whole of Ngati-Rakei of those parts, fled with the utmost expedition to the forest, which even to this day lines the shores of the little bay in which Motu-tawa is situated and gradually made their way through the country to Otorohanga in the Waipa valley—now a Station on the Main Trunk railway—to join some of their relatives there. Here the people settled down for some three years, not daring to return to their own country at Mokau, which was in occasional occupation of Ngati-Tama and some of the Ati-Awa tribes.

The exiles dwelt amongst their friends at Otorohanga, as has been said, for about three years, cultivating on the lands of others as *manene* or strangers, and feeling generally uncomfortable through this fact. When the strong westerly winds used to blow from the coast the old people would listen to the far-distant sound of the breakers dashing on the shore—which they could hear from the ranges not far from Otorohanga—and sniff the salt-laden breezes of their old home. Then the people would greet and lament over the misfortunes which had taken them so far from their beloved homes. This feeling became so strong at last that the chiefs consulted together and determined to attempt the reconquest of their lands and homes.

NGA-TAI-PARI-RUA.

1815.

Te Wharau-roa,* who at that time was the leader of Ngati-Rakei, Ngati-Hia, and other Mokau *hapus* raised a war party from those tribes and started from Otorohanga on their long and risky journey. They came up the Mangapapa valley and by Te Ana-uriuri on the Waipa-Mokau water-parting, and thence to the head of the Mokau and down that river by canoes to Te Mahoe, a bend in the river some two miles from the mouth. Here the party went into camp, carefully concealing all signs of smoke, etc., whilst spies were sent out to see where the Ngati-Tama were. They returned and reported that the enemy was all over the country at the mouth of the river, and along the coast southward, but that the principal number were gathered at a village they had built about half way between Mokau and Mohaka-tino. A council was then held to consider how the war-party might reach this village without being seen, and finally a plan was adopted. Starting at dawn one morning they crossed the river and concealed their canoes in the little creeks just opposite Te Mahoe, and from there climbed the steep forest range which leads up to the high hill named Tawariki, on which there is now a Trig Station. From here they followed the ridges that run parallel to the coast until they came out at the Mohaka-tino river, about a mile from its mouth. The party was now between Ngati-Tama and any succour they might receive from their own people to the south. Arrived at the sea-beach, Wharau-roa instructed all his party to trail their spears and other arms along the sands, with one end fastened to their ankles by a flax string. The party now advanced along the beach in careless order, some shouting, some singing, some skidding flat stones along the wet sands, all of which was done to make Ngati-Tama think it was a party of their friends from the south coming to visit them.

The war-party was one hundred and forty *topu* (*i.e.*, 280) strong, whilst the Ngati-Tama and Ati-Awa were said to be more numerous. As they drew near the village many of the women, children, and some of the men came down to the beach to meet the visitors. When Wharau-roa saw the time was come he gave the signal, and in an instant the spears were seized and a charge made into the unsuspecting Ngati-Tama, all of whom were killed. The rest of Ngati-Tama in the village, seeing what was going on, armed and rushed down to the beach to meet the foe. Here, on the beach, these ancient enemies fought it out, it is said, during two flood tides—hence the name of the battle, Nga-tai-pari-rua (the twice-flowing tide). No doubt there is some truth in the story, or the name would not have been given. The end of the fight saw Ngati-Rakei and their allies victorious for once over

*Grandfather of my informant.

Ngati-Tama, who, after losing a large number of men, were obliged to retreat. They fell back on their impregnable stronghold, Te Kawau, where they were safe. The Mokau people went on and occupied their old homes on the river, greatly to their delight, says my informant, and he adds, "The Mokau people have to thank my grandfather Te Wharau-roa for saving their country for them."

The above battle seems to have been the beginning of the end, so far as Ngati-Tama were concerned, although it was not yet. Hitherto this brave little tribe, never very numerous, seems always to have got the best of their enemies as we have seen. But the constant fights that had occurred during the previous two hundred years must have weakened them considerably. However much they suffered in numbers, their spirit was not broken. They still had with them the two gallant brothers, Raparapa and Tupoki, as leaders, and they were not men to sit down and accept a beating quietly.

MURDER OF RANGI-HAPAINGA.

(? 1816.)

Of the next event which is known to have occurred I have no notes from my Maori friends, and therefore quote from Judge Gudgeon's "Mohaka-tino—Parininihi Judgment" of 1893. "Kingi Te Rerenga (see Table 51) in his evidence asserts that the Ngati-Tama, disheartened by their non-success, now grew food in order to give a feast, under cover of which they might murder their guests. When the feast was ready, Te Kawa-iri-rangi (of Ngati-Tama) invited . . . Niwha and the Ngati-Rakei, with other Mokau *hapus*, to attend and make a lasting peace. These people responded, but when they reached the Mohaka-tino river their hearts failed them, but finally the chiefs Niwha, Ponga, and Ingoa, with about twenty followers, crossed the river, and were there nearly all slain.

"After this an attempt was made to obtain revenge, but the Ngati-Rakei were defeated and were then glad to make peace with the redoubtable Ngati-Tama.

"For some time after this the hostile tribes remained quiet watching each other, until, in an evil moment, Te Rangi-pu-ahoaho, a chief of Ngati-Mutunga (Ngati-Tama's neighbours on the south, and their relatives), sent a message to ask Rangi-hapainga, wife of Hari, to visit him at Te Whakarewa *pa* (three miles south of the White Cliffs). Hari consented, and his wife, with about a dozen attendants, started on their fatal journey" (which ended in the murder of Rangi-hapainga by Ngati-Tama; she was killed by Te Kawa-iri-rangi of Te Kawau *pa*, of that tribe).

"Hari's behaviour, when informed of the murder of his wife, was characteristic and very Maori, for he called on his tribe (Ngati-Urunumia) and marched, not against the murderers, but against the Ngati-Rakei

(of Mokau) and killed Hine-rangi, Te Ahi, and Peru. Unfortunately, Hine-rangi was related to Ngati-Rora (of Upper Mokau), and when the news reached Tao-nui-Hikaka (see Table 51) he said, '*Mau te po, maku te awatea!*'—'what you do by stealth I will do openly'—and straightway attacked the Ngati-Kinohaku *hapu* (of Ngati-Mania-poto), killing Kahu-totara and Te Rari. After this interchange of compliments there was but one method of avoiding civil war (all three *hapus* are nearly related and are branches of Ngati-Mania-poto) and that was for all the injured tribes to combine and wipe out their injuries by defeating Ngati-Tama, which was done at Tihi-manuka." We shall come to Tihi-manuka later on, but in the meantime must relate the doings of Ngati-Rahiri, a branch of Te Ati-Awa, as the events fall in here.

NGATI-RAHIRI GO TO KAWHIA.

1816-17.

For what follows I am indebted to a MS. written by Te Watene Taunga-tara, of Waitara, which was the outcome of a visit paid him by Mr. W. H. Skinner and myself in 1897, when we persuaded the old man—who was then about eighty or ninety—to write the history of the doings of Ati-Awa in the nineteenth century.

So far as can be made out it was about the year 1816 that Whare-mawhai, a sister of Huri-whenua of Ngati-Rahiri—whose home was, and is still, at Waihi and that neighbourhood, four or five miles north of Waitara—was married to Nohorua, a leading chief of Ngati-Toa, of Kawhia. A great feast was given in consequence of this marriage—in fact, several, as we shall see—and according to Maori custom a return feast (or *kai-whainga*) was prepared under the direction of the celebrated Te Rau-paraha, who now first comes into our narrative.* This feast was called "Pou-hangu," according to the Maori custom of giving a name to any noticeable event in their history. It consisted principally of dried fish and other foods, and was brought by Te Rau-paraha himself and a considerable party in canoes from Kawhia. At this time Huri-whenua was the principal chief of Ngati-Rahiri, and lived in Te Taniwha *pa* at Turangi, which *pa* is

* Col. Wakefield writing in 1839, says—"Te Rau-paraha is at least 60 years old. When a young man he acquired a reputation for strength and courage, founded on his skill in native warfare, which his wiliness and success in all his undertakings have preserved for him in his old age. In all his negotiations he is considered skilful—he possesses some points of character worthy of a chief among savages. He is full of resource in emergencies, hardy in his enterprises and indefatigable in the execution of them."

Ward, writing about the same time, says—"In person Te Rau-paraha is not conspicuous amongst his country men, his height being rather under the average. . . . His countenance expresses keenness and vivacity, whilst a receding

situated on a bold bluff on the sea-coast four miles north of Waitara; the remains of which are plainly to be seen at this day, its terraced ramparts showing out well from the main road a mile or so inland. After a stay of some time, Te Rau-paraha and his party departed for his home at Kawhia, with the understanding that the Ngati-Rahiri would pay a return visit the following year.

After the departure of the visitors the three *hapus* of Ngati-Rahiri set to work to plant *kumaras* and *taros* for the projected visit to Kawhia. This part of the country is celebrated for the excellence of these tubers, about which there is a "saying" already quoted, and which, as the Maoris think, was due to the powers of their particular god Rongo. After the harvest, and the *kumaras* had been converted into *kao* by drying, a large party started under Huri-whenua in four large war-canoes named "Te Rongo-o-te-raku," "Te Pae-ki-tawhiti," "Te Paki-o-matiti," and "Nga-titi-o-pango." The party started at early dawn, and with a fair wind, by aid of their triangular sails, which carried them to the north at such a rate that evening found them off Harihari, ten miles south of Kawhia and sixty miles from Te Taniwha, their starting point. Here they landed and made a camp. In the morning Te Rau-paraha and Rau-hihi arrived to see the visitors coming from their cultivations, which at that time were at or near Taharoa lake, about three miles from Harihari. After the usual amount of talk Te Rau-paraha invited the Ngati-Rahiri to go on round by sea into Kawhia harbour, which was agreed to, whilst Te Rau-paraha started overland to warn the people to prepare for their visitors. In the meantime the sea had got up very much, and in launching the canoes they capsized in the surf and many of the crew were nearly drowned. Huri-whenua was very much disturbed and angry at the narrow escape they had had, and the loss of the food for the feast—so much so that he adopted a very Maori-like procedure to assuage his angry feelings. He started off immediately with a party, and overtaking Te Rau-paraha and his friend, attacked them, and succeeded in killing Rau-hihi, whilst Te Rau-paraha made his escape.

forehead and deep eyelids, in raising which his eyebrows are elevated into the furrows of his brows, gives a resemblance to the ape in the upper part of the face. He was slow and dignified in his movements, and except for his wandering and watchful looks, perfectly easy in his address."

Dr. Deffenbach, writing in 1839, also says—"He is between 50 and 60 years of age, with remarkably Jewish features, aquiline nose, and a cunning physiognomy. . . . Individuals are occasionally met with who have six or more toes on fingers. Rau-paraha is distinguished by this peculiarity." (From Fourteenth Report, Directors N.Z. Company, p. 132.)

A portrait of Te Rau-paraha and his celebrated nephew Te Rangi-hacata will be found in Dr. Shortland's "Southern Districts of New Zealand."

Te Rau-paraha died at Otaki, 27th November, 1849, aged about 75.

Ngati-Rahiri at once concluded that prompt measures were necessary if they were to escape the just anger of the Ngati-Toa tribe for killing one of their chiefs. So they put to sea at once and made their way home. On their arrival, knowing that Te Rau-paraha was not the kind of man to pass over an injury, they immediately set to work to strengthen the fortifications of Te Taniwha *pa*. This place is situated at the mouth of the Waihi stream, which runs along under one side of the *pa*. In order to strengthen the defences the people set to work and dammed up the stream, so as to make a lake on one side of the *pa*. At this time there were over three hundred and fifty warriors in the *pa*, besides women and children, and the principal chiefs were Huri-whenua, his brother Huri-waka, Manu-kino, and Whiro-kino. None of the Maori tribes possessed fire-arms at this period excepting Nga-Puhi.

SIEGE OF TE TANIWHA.

TU-WHARE AND TE RAU-PARAHA'S FIRST EXPEDITION,
1818.

After Ngati-Rahiri had completed their defences, they waited quietly, well knowing that it would not be long before they were attacked. Nor was it long. The news soon came that Te Rau-paraha, at the head of his tribe, Ngati-Toa, and a contingent of Nga-Puhi under Tu-whare, were approaching. This was Tu-whare's first expedition into Taranaki. He was the son of Taoho, principal chief of the Roroa section of the Ngati-Whatua tribe of Kaipara—a section which is very closely connected with Nga-Puhi of Hokianga. Tu-whare was a great warrior, whom we shall frequently come across in this narrative. He was bound on a warlike expedition (probably to Taranaki) when he arrived at Kawhia, at which place he would find relatives in the Ngati-Toa tribe—relatives that is, in the Maori sense, for there had been intermarriages some ten or twelve generations previously, between Nga-Puhi and Ngati-Toa tribes. Tu-whare's party was not a large one—two hundred warriors only; but they brought with them the means of terrifying their enemies, in the shape of two muskets, which weapon was now for the first time to be introduced to the West Coast tribes, afterwards to be so fatal to them. With Nga-Puhi (so called) was also the fighting chief of Ngati-Whatua of Kaipara, Muru-paenga, and some of his people. This was his second expedition to Taranaki for which see *ante*. The Taranaki account of this expedition makes Muru-paenga to have been the leading chief of this Northern party, though Watene does not mention him, but it is quite clear both accounts refer to the same incidents. Muru-paenga had, in 1807, defeated Nga-Puhi in the battle of Te Kai-a-te-karoro, on the beach at Moremo-nui—for which see “The Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes in the Nineteenth Century,” p. 12.

On the arrival of Nga-Puhi at Kawhia, Te Rau-paraha thought it

would be an excellent plan to secure their aid in an attack on Ngati-Rahiri. Tu-whare was nothing loath, indeed he came from his northern home especially to fight, and the chance of securing some of the fine mats for which Taranaki was celebrated, was an additional inducement. So the two tribes came south—I do not know whether by land or water—and arrived at Te Taniwha *pa*, and sat down to besiege it. The siege went on for a long time, but without any appreciable result. At last proposals of peace were made which emanated from Ngati-Toa. The origin of this peace was the fact that Huri-whenua's sister was married to Nohorua of Ngati-Toa, and the latter's sister it was who suggested the peace, and eventually effected it, by visiting Te Taniwha *pa*, and consulting with the garrison.

Again comes in an illustration of Maori ideas—Te Rau-paraha felt he must have some satisfaction for the death of Te Rau-hihi at the hands of Ngati-Rahiri, so he made it a condition of peace that the dam that had prevented his party attacking the *pa* from that side, should be demolished. This was agreed to and the dam destroyed, and then Ngati-Puhi fired off their guns in token of victory (over the dam). “Then” —says Watene—“this ignorant people of these parts heard for the first time the noise of that weapon, the gun.”

After this the war-party stayed some time at Te Taniwha at peace with its inhabitants. The news of this new weapon spread all over the district, even amongst the Taranaki tribe, some of the women of which composed the following *ngeri*, or war-song, in reference thereto, which is derisive of its powers:—

I rangona atu nga pu
 Kei Te Taniwha—
 Kei a Huri-whenua
 I tangi ki taku hawenga i raro—e—
 Keua e ana pu,
 Ka whano mangu—o—
 Kei oku tapa, papatoa
 He pu-notinoti nga tapa
 He kuru tumata tai haruru,
 E! ka ngenengene,
 He mata aha, he koi pu,
 Ka tu ki runga ha.
 E! ka roa ko te tapa,
 Ka mohu ki te whenua,
 E! ka ngenengene.

TATARA-I-MAKA.

1818.

After the northern war-party had stayed some time at Te Taniwha Te Puoho* of Ngati-Tama came to see them, indeed it is possible he

*Te Puoho and many others were subsequently killed by the Ngai-Tahu tribe near Gore, in the South Island, in 1835-6; see Chapter XX.

may have been at the siege of Te Taniwha, for the relations between his tribe and Ngati-Toa were friendly through intermarriages, and it was through this relationship, no doubt, that the *taua* had been allowed to pass the "gates of Taranaki" without interference from the redoubtable warriors of Ngati-Tama, under their chiefs Raparapa and Tupoki. Now Te Puoho, of the latter tribe, had a grievance against the Taranaki tribe, for his sister (or perhaps cousin) Te Kiri-kakara had been killed by Puke-toretore of Taranaki, and he saw in the presence of these northern tribes a fine opportunity for paying off this score if he could secure their assistance. This was not difficult of accomplishment; Tu-whare, Muru-paenga, and Te Rau-paraha were not the men to hold back when there were any hard knocks to be given, and moreover an attack on the Taranaki tribe would result in the acquisition of more fine mats, heads, and slaves. At this time the two latter articles were becoming of much value; the first to barter with the whalers frequenting the Bay of Islands, the latter to prepare flax to exchange for muskets.

The *taua*, now reinforced by some of the Ati-Awa people, started on their march for the Taranaki country, passing on their way several of the Ati-Awa *pas*, and soon arrived at Tatara-i-maka ("the garment cast away," pronounced Tatarai-maka). This place was, and is still, a very strong *pa*, situated on the sea-coast eleven miles south-west of New Plymouth, and between the mouths of the Kati-kara and Pito-one streams, and which gives its name to the block of land purchased by the Government from the Taranaki tribe, 11th May, 1847. Its high ramparts and deep ditches that defended it on the land side are still in good preservation, and it is to be hoped will remain so, for the *pa* has been acquired and preserved by the Government under "The Scenery Preservation Act, 1903." The *taua* marched on to the attack of this strong place and were met outside by the Taranaki people, and a fight took place, in which the latter people were defeated, and then took shelter in the *pa*. Mr. W. H. Skinner says: . . . "Tatara-i-maka was the great fighting *pa* of these parts, and into it all the inhabitants of the smaller *pas* in the vicinity had gathered. . . . The possession of a few firearms by the invaders caused them to treat this affair as a pleasant outing, for they felt sure of victory—a hunting excursion, in fact, in search of game, on which they subsisted, together with the immense supply of vegetable food (in the shape of *kumara*, *taro*, etc.) found in the neighbouring *pas* scattered over this thickly-peopled district. Tatara-i-maka was stormed with great slaughter, and amongst the slain was Kahu-roro, the chief of the *pa*, and great numbers were taken prisoners, amongst them Pori-kapa, the afterwards well-known chief of the Nga-Mahanga *hapu* of Taranaki, who, in later years, dwelt at Kai-hihi. He was then a lad and managed to escape shortly after capture. The prisoners were bound together in couples by flax ropes

round their necks, notwithstanding which, during the night, many of them made their escape." Watene adds these names to the chiefs killed: Wetenga-pito, Parehē, Para-tu-te-rangi, and Tiotio, and further says, "Here was seen the work of the guns of Nga-Puhi. The Maori mode of warfare formerly was hand to hand in close proximity. But here the Nga-Puhi chiefs asked their Ati-Awa allies to point out the chiefs when attacking the *pa*, and then the guns did their work shooting the men whose names have been mentioned. And then the *pa* was stormed."

The people who suffered in this affair were the Nga-Mahanga *hapu* of Taranaki (and probably other *hapus*). This *hapu* takes its name from two brothers, Moeahu (hence Ngati-Moeahu) and Tai-hawea, who were twins, which is the meaning of the *hapu* name.

Tai-hawea = Rongo-mai-hape.

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- | | | | |
|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Turi-pari-aha | 2. Rakei-hotu-rua | 3. Rakei-tamara | 4. Rahiri-whakaruru |
| | | | 5. Mahana-nui-a-tai |

These people dwelt at the Matai-whetu *pa* not far from Tatari-i-maka. Tai-hawea being seventh in descent from Te Ha-tauira, of the Kura hau-po canoe, and consequently flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century. He and his sons were great warriors in their day, and about them has come down the following saying: "*E Turi' a Tai! E Hotu' a Tai! E Mara a Tai! Te toka i tauria e te kukupara, arau mimingo. Ka tu matou ko aku tama, he whetu kau;*" which refers to their courage and likens them to the mussels that adhered to the rocks, for they could not be removed from their *pa* by their enemies.

The following lament appears to have been composed by one of the Taranaki people for those who fell at Tatara-i-maka. It will be found (in Maori) at page 242 of "Nga Moteatea."

E paki ra te paki o Au-tahi,
Hei roto au, hei toku whare,
Koki atu ai, ki te iwi ka kopa,
Ki te ana o Rangi-totohu,
E whanake ana kia takitaki
E Uru, e wehi ana.

Ka tu te whakapipi
Ki te puke ki Tatara-i-maka,
Kei te karanga ake aku huinga
I te whatitoka
Hei tomokanga mo Muru-paenga
Whakatere ope, nana
Te tipu ki te pikitanga
I Tuhi-mata
I maroke kau atu ai au i konei.

Sweet is the Spring, the September month,
 When brilliant Canopus stands aloft,
 As I lay within my solitary home,
 Dazed with sad thoughts for my people
 Departed in death like a flash.
 To the cave of Rangi-totohu—
 Emblem of sad disaster.
 They are gone by the leadership
 Of Uru, of the fearsome name.
 'Twas there, at the hill of Tatarai-maka
 The foe advanced in wedge-like form,
 Whilst our gathered people bid defiance
 At the entrance of the *pa*,
 Where Muru-paenga forced his way—
 The army raiser; the leader—
 His was the fatal blow delivered,
 At the ascent of Tuhi-mata;
 Hence am I dried up here in sorrow.

TAPUI-NIKAU.

1818.

But the Northern *taua* was not satisfied with the taking of Tatarai-maka. They proceeded to attack other Taranaki *pas*. Mr. Skinner says—"From here the invaders moved on and invested Mounu-kahawai, a very large *pa* at the mouth of the Kaihiki stream, three miles south-west of Tatarai-maka, on the south bank just inland of the coast road. This *pa* was of great size, with a large population, but was not a strong position, being built on comparatively flat ground. The invaders fired the dry raupo growing in the swamps (named Totoaro) around the *pa*, and under cover of the smoke and consequent confusion stormed the place, with great slaughter. Tara-tuha, one of the principal chiefs of Nga-Mahanga, was killed here. After the taking of this *pa* and the usual feasting, the *taua* moved on to attack Tapui-nikau." I am not certain whether it was before or after the siege of Tapui-nikau, that a *pa*, situated about one and a-half miles S.S.E. of the former named Kekeua, was taken with the usual accompaniment of slaughter. Tapui-nikau is situated on the Te Ika-parua stream, about two miles south-east of the modern township of Warea, and five miles from the coast. Mr. Skinner says of Tapui-nikau—"This was another great stronghold of the Taranaki tribe, and was defended by the people of the various *hapus* (of Nga-Mahanga, Ngati-Moeahu, etc., etc.) who had gathered into this powerful *pa* to do battle with the invaders. Great preparations had been made and every precaution taken in accordance with the old Maori ideas of defence. Great stores of stones were gathered up into the fighting towers, and on stages erected on trees commanding the trenches and approaches to the *pa*."

Watene says, there were a great many chiefs in the *pa* at the

time of attack, Kukutai, Te Ra-tu-tonu, Mouna-tu-kau and others. At the first attack the *taua* was repulsed by the Taranaki people "under (says Mr. Skinner) Ruakiri, and in this affair Rarauhe of the Nga-Mahanga killed two men of rank of the attacking party. After the first attack, the invaders prepared to make a regular siege of the place, with the idea of starving out the garrison," whilst the young men of the *taua* ranged the country in search of food and plunder.

Now comes in one of those instances of Maori custom which is peculiar and strange to us. During the first attack, the allies had seen and admired the splendid courage of Te Ra-tu-tonu, who was otherwise a fine handsome man in the prime of life. His deeds were the talk of the camp, and it appears that one of the women had also beheld his valour, and on that account desired to have him as her husband. This woman who—Te Watene says—was very beautiful, was Rangitopeora, the sister of the celebrated Te Rangi-haeata, and daughter of Te Rau-paraha's sister Waitohi. Topeora is perhaps more famed than any other Maori lady for the number of her poetical effusions, which generally take the form of *kai-oraora*, or cursing songs, in which she expresses the utmost hatred of her enemies, and consigns them to all kinds of horrible deaths and desecrations so much indulged in by the Maori. At the same time her songs are full of historical allusions. She was also of the best blood of Ngati-Toa, and, therefore, with a good deal of influence in the tribe. Te Ra-tu-tonu was known to Topeora before this event, for he had formerly visited Kawhia. One child was the fruit of this union, who died young.

At Topeora's instigation, Te Rau-paraha arranged that Te Ra-tu-tonu should be "called," i.e.: some one would approach the beleaguered *pa*, and call him to come to the enemies' camp under a guarantee of safety. This was done, and Te Ra-tu-tonu descended from the *pa* to the camp, where, after speeches, etc., he was married to Topeora. Mr. Skinner adds to the above (which is Watene's account)—"When Te Ra-tu-tonu was leaving the *pa* to meet Topeora and Neke-papa (who also had taken a fancy to this handsome warrior) the question arose as to which of the two should have him. But Topeora, being fleet of foot ran to meet the advancing chief and cast her *topuni* (dog-skin) mat over his shoulders and thus claimed him as her husband. This being in accordance with Maori custom Te Ra-tu-tonu* became the husband of Topeora."

Now this other lady, Neke-papa, who belonged to the Ati-Awa tribe, was also a poetess of some fame in her time. It is somewhat remarkable that this warrior chief should have thus been sought after by two well-known poetesses. There was no doubt a hope in the

* Te Ra-tu-tonu was subsequently killed by the Nga-Rauru tribe at Wai-totara during Te Rau-paraha's migration to Kapiti.

Taranaki people, that this marriage would bring about a peace, and the retirement of the *taua*, for there are many historical instances of a similar result, as indeed in the case already quoted, in their own tribe when Rau-mahora was given in marriage to Taka-rangi, at the siege of Te Rewarewa *pa* (see page 186, Vol. XVII.). But Watene says, the *taua* had no such intention and continued the siege as closely as before. The probability is that the Northern element amongst the besiegers was determined to have revenge for the loss of some of their people. And hence, says Watene, was this chief-woman Topeora be-littled by the *taua*. The great bravery of Te Ra-tu-tonu had been exhibited in the assault on the *pa*, when a great many of the *taua* fell, notwithstanding that they possessed guns, whilst the defenders had only their *rakau-maori*, or native weapons. Few of the besieged fell on this occasion.

Amongst the *taua* were some of the chiefs and people of Te Ati-Awa (of Waitara, etc.). One of these, an old man named Pahau, was desirous that the Taranaki people should be saved, and for that purpose he proceeded to the ground below the *pa* by himself and there stood, waiting a chance to communicate with the besieged. Mounga-tu-kau of the *pa* saw him, and from the palisades called out, "Who is that man?" The old man replied, "It is I, Pahau!" The other then said, "Do you not remember your grandfather Rakei-tahanga, who was saved alive by us when we took the Awa-te-take *pa*.* (This *pa* is situated behind Tikorangi on the high cliffs that overlook the Waitara river on the east side of the great bend, about a mile and a-half from Puke-rangiora, and had been taken by Taranaki in former times.)" So Pahau returned to the camp, and repeated to the chiefs of his *hapu*, Otaraua of Ati-Awa, the conversation that had taken place. These

* I have no particulars as to what led up to this attack on Awa-te-take *pa*, or as to its date, but apparently it was not very many years prior to the utterance of Mounga-tu-kau's speech above. But as there are some "sayings" about it that illustrate some peculiarities in the Maori language I introduce them here. Te Tuiti-moeroa was the chief of Awa-te-take *pa*, and he had apparently been threatened by some one of the Taranaki chiefs whose residence was in the forest. On this threat being made known to Te Tuiti, he said, "*E kore au e mate i te tangata takahi mouku.*"—"I shall not be killed by a man who is a *mouku*-treader;" *mouku* being the Maori name for the common forest fern named *Asplenium bulbiferum*; or, in other words, by a forest-dweller.) Nevertheless, his *pa* was attacked by Taranaki at night, he and his son alone being there, when the "*fern-treader*" called out to Te Tuiti in his house, "*Ka mate koe i te waewae takahi mouku!*"—"Now will you die by the *mouku*-treader!") Te Tuiti shouted out in reply, "*Mei i whaka-te-potea mai koe, ka kite koe i a Te Tuiti; ko tenei, ka whaka-te-potia mai e koe, e kore koe e kite i a Te Tuiti.*"—"Had you come by daylight you might have seen Te Tuiti; but as for this, you have come by night, and will not see Te Tuiti.") Saying this, Te Tuiti got out at the back of the house and made his escape. But the *taua* followed as soon as daylight came and chased Te Tuiti down to the sea-coast,

chiefs were Te Tupe-o-tu* and Hau-te-horo,† who after further consultation agreed that the besieged Taranaki should be allowed to escape from the *pa* by night.

Now within the *pa* was a young chief named Rongo-nui-a-rangi who was the son of Hau-te-horo's sister by a Taranaki chief to whom she was married. So Hau-te-horo went to the front and called out to the young chief. He came down out of the *pa* and there had a talk with his uncle. Hau-te-horo's final words to his nephew were, "Listen to my words. Evacuate the *pa* this very night, all of you go to Te Kohatu *pa*"—which was situated on Te Iringa mountain (Patuhirua Range), and was a stronghold of Kukutai's, the principal chief of Taranaki. The young man returned to the *pa* and communicated the subject of Hau-te-horo's advice to them, which was finally agreed to. For provisions were beginning to fail, and it was evident the *taua* having all the country at their command, was determined to reduce the *pa* by starvation. That same night, with secrecy and despatch, the garrison passed out of the *pa* with the connivance of the Ati-Awa sentries, and made good their escape to Te Kohatu.

In the morning, the *taua* was surprised at seeing no smoke or hearing no voices in the *pa*, for Hau-te-horo had managed the thing so well that no one but his immediate friends and followers knew of the arrangements made. Great wonder was expressed as to how the besieged had got away.

During the siege, Tawhai (afterwards Mohi Tawhai), of the Mahurehure *hapu* of Nga-Puhi—who live at Waima, Hokianga—was the father of the late Hone Mohi Tawhai, M.H.R., who was with the northern contingent of the *taua* in the attack already described, was close under one of the towers of the *pa*, when one of the defenders cast a big stone at him, which split open his head (as his son told me). But by careful doctoring he recovered—careful doctoring according to Maori ideas; they poured hot oil into the wound, then sewed it up!

Mr. Skinner has a story illustrating the instruction given to Taranaki slaves in the use of firearms: "One of these slaves was anxious to know how the musket was used. A Nga-Puhi man explained the procedure, then told the other to look down the muzzle

where they caught and killed him. Then Ati-Awa raised a *taua* to pursue Taranaki (or, as another account says, Ngati-Ruanui) and came up with them, at, or near Pekatu, inland of Puke-rangiora, Waitara river, where they caught and killed them all, and hence was this place ever after called Te Whakarau-ika (heap of dead bodies). Te Tuiti married Whakaweru, a daughter of Moko-tuatua, of Nga-Ruanui; he himself was half Taranaki.

* Afterwards shot by Puke-rua at Pahiko, Otaki, about 1834.

† Killed at the battle of Hao-whenua, near Otaki, in 1833-4. See Chapter XIX.

of the gun. The Nga-Puhi then pulled the trigger and the unfortunate slave's head was shattered, much to the amusement of the surrounding crowd."

After the escape of the garrison of Tapui-nikau and the plunder of the *pa*, the whole *taua* returned to their respective homes; Ati-Awa to Waitara, Ngati-Tama to Poutama, Ngati-Toa to Kawhia, Ngati-Whatua to Kaipara, Nga-Puhi to Hokianga; taking with them numbers of slaves* and other booty in the shape of mats and dried heads. It was at this time, when passing through Kawhia, that Tu-whare arranged with Te Rau-paraha another and more extended raid into the Taranaki country. The great Ngati-Whatua chief Muru-paenga did not return again to the south. It is probable he and his *taua* reached their Kaipara homes early in 1819, and in the next year he met the celebrated Nga-Puhi chief Tareha, in several fights at Kaipara itself. In August, 1820, the Rev. Samuel Marsden met him at the former's home in Kaipara. In 1823, he and many of his tribe are found assisting Hongi-Hika at the taking of Mokoia island, Rotorua, and finally this great warrior was killed by a party of Nga-Puhi in 1826. Muru-paenga was certainly a great warrior and leader, who set all the strength of Nga-Puhi at defiance and constantly defeated them, until the overwhelming number of muskets they had acquired enabled Hongi-Hika to inflict a crushing defeat on Muru-paenga's tribe, Ngati-Whatua, at Ika-a-ranga-nui in February, 1826.

Te Taoho, father of Tu-whare, Muru-paenga's companion in the campaign against Tapui-Nikau, thus refers to Muru-paenga in a *tangi*, or lament, given at p. 349 of "Nga-Moteatea":

Tenei nga patu-e-	Of all the weapons renowned
Kei o matua,	Those of thy parent—
Kei a Muru-paenga-e-	Of Muru-paenga are most famous.
Hei here i te waka,	He it was with restraining hand
Hei korero tu-e-	Could hold the people in.
Hei whakaaro i te riri	Or with his warlike eloquence,
He atua rere rangi-e-	In military command,
Ki runga o Taranaki	His people make obey.
Ka rangona te panga-e-	Like a god in heaven flying
He waka utanga nui.	Was his descent on Taranaki,
	Where his charges are still famed.
	He was like a richly-laden vessel
	With all knowledge and great courage.

* We shall see in Chapter XVII. the revenge these Taranaki slaves took on Te Ati-Awa at Puke-rangiora.

TIHI-MANUKA.

DEFEAT OF NGATI-TAMA.

1820.

We must again change the scene of our story to the north. It will be remembered that Te Kawa-iri-rangi, chief of Ngati-Tama, has basely murdered Te Rangi-hapainga, wife of Hari of Ngati-Urunumia, and the steps taken by several of the *hapus* of Ngati-Mania-poto immediately after that event.

A combination of Ngati-Urunumia, Ngati-Rakei, Ngati-Rora, and Ngati-Kino-haku—all "Tainui" tribes—now assembled for the purpose of punishing Ngati-Tama for their evil deed. We know few particulars of this affair, but the date is tolerably certain. Mr. Skinner says: "The people of Pa-tangata—a *pa* on a little island at the mouth of the Tonga-porutu (see Plate 1), south side, now nearly all washed away—knowing the high rank of Te Rangi-hapainga, the murdered woman became uneasy after the deed was done;" (and with the people of the Kawau *pa*) "retired to a point overlooking the coast on the range near the Wai-kiekie stream. Here they built a strong *pa* at a place named Tihi-manuka. So says Toiroa of Mokau, but it is believed the *pa* was built long ere the invasion, and was used as a place of refuge like others similarly situated along the coast. From this *pa* started one of the great Maori highways leading from the west coast into the interior of the North Island, and known as the Taumata-mahoe track. In case of defeat the inmates had a chance of escape by this back entrance, and at the same time the *pa* served the purpose of checking any marauding parties coming from the interior. Here Ngati-Tama awaited the attack of the combined tribes. In due time it came; the stronghold was taken," and a great many of its defenders slain, among them Te Kawa-iri-rangi, who instigated the murder. The leading chiefs of the combined *hapus* were Hari, Tawhana, Te Rangi-tua-tesa, Taonui, Tariki, Hauauru, and others. Judge Gudgeon, in his "Judgment, Mohakatino-Pari-ninihi Block," says, in reference to Tihi-manuka, "There is every reason to believe that a long series of defeats and the deaths of many great chiefs, including Runga-te-ranga, Kahui-Tangaroa, Whiti, Ihu, Hanu, Pehi, and Maunga-tautari were unavenged until Ngati-Mania-poto won this battle."

This, however, is the second defeat we have had to chronicle suffered by Ngati-Tama, the other being Nga-tai-pari-rua, fought on the beach between Ngati-Tama and Ngati-Rakei and others. The importance of this battle of Tihi-manuka is that, dependant on it as the first episode was the loss of the Pou-tama country to Ngati-Tama, for when the title came to be inquired into in the nineties of last century, they received but a few hundred acres out of all the tens of thousands of acres they held at the time of Tihi-manuka.

Though no doubt the defeat was a serious one, it did not exterminate

the fighting spirit of the tribe, and that a great many people survived proved by the fact that Ngati-Tama of Katikati-aka *pa*, a mile or so to the south of Tihi-Manuka, under the chiefs Tupoki and Te Puoho, followed up Ngati-Mania-poto as they retired along the coast from Tihi-manuka, "and another battle would have been fought had not Taonui and Tariki objected to fight so far from the shelter of a *pa* in which they might rally if defeated." (Judgment, *loc. cit.*)

We shall see what steps Ngati-Tama took to avenge their losses at Tihi-manuka later on; in the meantime must describe some further doings of Tu-whare and Te Rau-paraha, which fall in here.

CHAPTER XII.

TU-WHARE AND TE RAU-PARAHA'S EXPEDITION, 1819-1820.

WHEN the Roroa chief, Tu-whare parted from Te Rau-paraha at Kawhia in 1818, it was arranged between them that they should join forces and undertake a more extensive journey to the south than that in which Tataara-i-maka and Tapui-nikau fell. We have the means of ascertaining the date of this expedition with much more precision than previous ones, owing to the fact that the first Missionaries had settled at the Bay of Islands in 1814, and their journals and letters become available to help us. From these we know that Tu-whare and the northern part of this *taua* left Hokianga in November, 1819—and returned home about October, 1820. Mr. Travers in his "Life of Te Rau-paraha" states that this expedition took place in 1817, but this is clearly wrong; the Missionary Records cannot be mistaken on this point.

But, judging from evidence given before the Native Land Court in 1886, there was another cause for this expedition also. It so happened that just about this time Ngati-Tama had a grievance against the Whanganui tribes which arose as follows: Te Puoho, one of the principal chiefs of Ngati-Tama, then living at Puke-aruhe near the White Cliffs, married his daughter to a son of Takarangi of Whanganui. On one occasion in an assemblage of men, the husband said that when he embraced his wife, her skin felt like that of a potato. When the wife heard of this she felt deeply insulted, and leaving her husband returned to her father at Puke-aruhe, and laid her grievance before him. Te Puoho looked on this as a *kanga*, or curse, and determined to have revenge for the insult. He sent messengers to Kawhia and right along the coast to Te Akau, south of Waikato Heads to rouse the people to come and help him. The evidence then says that Te Ao-o-te-rangi of Waikato sent word to Hongi Hika in reference to this matter, and that he came to Kawhia with some Ngati-Puhi. This, I think, however, is a mistake, for Hongi very shortly afterwards sailed for England. Ngati-Toa, Ngati-Koata and some Ngati-Mania-poto then joined in this *taua*. The incident is known as "Te Kiri-parareka," or "Potato-peel."

Te Rau-paraha visited the Kaipara district not long after the return of Tu-whare to his home, where further arrangements were made. He appears to have tried to enlist the old chief Awa-rua in the undertaking. But he had other views in regard to an expedition of his own that occurred not long after this time, and which is known as 'Amio-whenua,' the proceedings of which will be found later on.

This hostile incursion is one of the most noticeable of all that have occurred, on account of the devastation created, and its far reaching results. For the first time firearms were used in considerable numbers, obtained from the Bay of Islands, where the whale ships were by this time constantly resorting for refreshments. Muskets were the chief article of barter, in exchange for pigs, flax, heads, potatoes, etc.

In "Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes," an account of this expedition has been given from a document written by some unknown Northern native, which is very deficient in the names of places, people, etc. The following is mainly from the other side—from those who suffered so cruelly from the barbarities practised by the invaders.

The northern contingent, numbering two hundred men, were under Patu-one, Waka-nene, Whare-papa, Moetara, Te Kekeao, Tawhai, Te Pou-roto and others of Nga-Puhi. They assembled at Lower Hokianga, and from thence proceeded by the West Coast to Kaipara, picking up on the way the Roroa chiefs Tu-whare, his brother Taoho, Te Karu, Rori and Tu-whare's nephew Tiopera Kinaki, all of whom lived along the coast from Wai-paoa River to Kaihu on the Northern Wairoa. These Ngati-Whatua people furnished a contingent of four hundred men, some of them from Southern Kaipara and other parts of that district, whilst many were veterans who had already fought in the Taranaki wars under Muru-paenga. They came on to Wai-te-mata, the Auckland Harbour, where they had several skirmishes with Waikato, as for instance, in the present Auckland Domain, at St. George's and Judge's Bays, Onehunga, etc. Here they met Hongi-Hika and a party from the Bay of Islands, but these latter returned home after the skirmishing. The *taua* sent down to the Kawau Island in the vain attempt to borrow some canoes from the Ngati-Rongo branch of Ngati-Whatua that dwelt in that neighbourhood, with the view of proceeding up the Waikato river in them. Failing canoes the *taua* proceeded overland by way of the Waikato mouth and Whaingaroa to Kawhia, where they were joined by four hundred men of Ngati-Toa, under the leadership of Te Rau-paraha, Te Rangi-haeata, Tungia, Te Rako, Te Kakakura, Hiroa, Nohorua, Puaha, Tama-i-hengia, and others, thus making up their number to one thousand men, several of whom were armed with muskets. The native account says, after leaving Wai-te-mata, "We had no reason for further man-killing," (after avenging the death of some Nga-Puhi killed at Wai-te-mata)

“nothing but the pleasure of so doing. This is why we did not attack the tribes that dwelt on the road we followed. It was only those who menaced us (*ko ratou e wheuaua ana ki a matou*) and obstructed our way whom we killed. This was the reason we quickly reached the country of the south, Taranaki, having no difficulties on our way.”

It has already been pointed out that Ngati-Toa were related to Ngati-Tama, and, therefore, the *taua* would be allowed to pass through the territories of the latter without obstruction—at any rate there is no record of anything of the kind having taken place. Moreover, Ngati-Tama were at this time rather under a cloud after the affair at Tihimanuka, and also had sent to the northern tribes for help. It was the same with Ngati-Rahiri; the marriage of one of their chief tainesses with Noho-rua of Ngati-Toa has been described a few pages back.* So the *taua* came on without any fighting to Manu-korihi *pa* on the north bank of Waitara—the chief at that time being Takaratai†—where the Ngati-Whatua section would find relatives in the descendants of Te Raraku. “But”—says Mr. John White‡—“it was known to Ati-Awa that Te Rau-paraha and Tu-whare were on their way to Taranaki to attack Tapui-nikau. The Ati-Awa met in force to stop the invaders and prevent them passing over their lands. When the party was stopped by the ancestor of Te Teira (who by selling land at Waitara in 1860, caused the war with the Maoris of the sixties) Te Rauparaha paid the tribute of ownership by asking leave to pass through, and this was granted. . . . The Manu-korihi *hapu*, as such, was not in existence at that time, nor were the ancestors of W. Kingi, of any note then. After this (the victory over Nga-Potiki *taua*, already shown) the Ati-Awa gradually gained in strength, and the arrival of the northern *taua* was deemed a fitting opportunity to show it, and for this purpose they preferred a request to be allowed to pass.” Te Rangi-take, of Manu-korihi, was also related to Te Rangi-haeata, and Patu-one of Nga-Puhi was related to Ngatata, father of Wi Tako of Ati-Awa. At Manu-korihi they dwelt for a time, discussing future plans, etc. It appears that at this period there was a feud in existence between the Manu-korihi and the Puke-rangioro people—the latter *pa*, so celebrated in after years, is situated about four miles up the Waitara river—which the *taua* were not slow to take advantage of.

* One account I have, says the *taua* came from Kawhia to Waitara by sea, but I doubt it.

† Taka-ra-tai was killed at the battle of Motu-nui early in 1822.

‡ “Taranaki Herald,” June 16th, 1860, where Mr. White (although his name is not attached, it is, nevertheless, certain that he was the author) gives a full account of matters leading up to the wars of the sixties.

Mr. Skinner states, "Great excitement prevailed among the Waitara and surrounding *hapus* over the arrival of this northern expedition, for they possessed the new weapon, the dreaded *pu*, or musket. Its wonderful powers no doubt were dwelt on, and exaggerated by the fortunate owners, until the excitement and desire to witness their deadly effects, led them to seek a way to satisfy the dangerous inquisitiveness of the local people without much danger to themselves. They had not far to seek for a scape-goat—the bad terms existing between Manu-korihi and Puke-rangiora offered the opportunity. The Nga-Puhi party were only too glad of the chance to prove their muskets."

TE KERIKERINGA.

"At the last moment, however, their plans were changed. Arrived before Puke-rangiora, its inmates presented such a bold face and the defences were so strong and well constructed that the allies thought better of the project, and decided to pass that *pa* and attack the unsuspecting people of Ngati-Maru, living in the neighbourhood of what is now Te Tarata village." In no accounts of this expedition is any mention made of the part that Ati-Awa of Manu-korihi took in assisting the northern *taua*. There were certainly many of them with the party and, guided by Taka-ra-tai of Manu-korihi, the *taua* went by the Rimu-tauteka track.

Mr. Skinner continues: "The Ngati-Maru are the people that made the great clearings and built the numerous *pas* in the forest east of the present town of Stratford, in Manga-o-tuku and Poho-kura blocks, as also the cultivations along the Upper Waitara and in the Tara-mouku, Manga-moe-hau, Makino, and other valleys leading into Waitara, and now known as the Ngati-Maru country."

I gather from a native document sent me by Mr. Best, and written by Te Amo of Ngati-Maru, that the old chief of the tribe, at this time named Tutahanga, had already been engaged against Nga-Puhi in one of their incursions and that he had defeated both that tribe and on another occasion the Waikato. But no localities are mentioned. It is, however, likely enough that Tutahanga had joined Taranaki or Ngati-Ruanui in defeating some of Tau-kawau's people.

"On their way up, the *taua* attacked and took a small *pa* belonging to Ngati-Maru, named Puke-kaka-maru, situated not far from Puke-rangiora on the Waitara river, about seven hundred yards down stream from the present bridge on the Junction road, village of Te Tarata. Here Ngati-Maru had gathered for safety and to offer battle to the invaders, under their head chiefs Patu-wairua and Tutahanga."

Evidently Tutahanga must have been a very old man at this time. His brother Patu-wairua and Haere-ao were in command of the operations against the northern *taua*. I now quote from Te Amo: It was Tutahanga that had defeated both Nga-Puhi and Waikato formerly; but in the second war he was killed, with many of Ngati-Maru-whara-nui. The *pa* in which he fought was Te Kerikeringa, and there he was shot, and from this cause came the Ngati-Maru crow over Nga-Puhi, Waikato, and Taranaki (*i.e.*, because they made an able defence with their native weapons against the muskets). When the chief of Nga-Puhi heard of his death (apparently this scene took place during the siege) he said, "*He awhiowhio i te rangi, e kore e mau i ahau. Tena he pata ua tuku iho ki te kapu o taku ringa, e mau i a ahau.*"—"A whirlwind in the heavens I cannot secure. But a drop of rain in the hollow of my hand I can catch;" probably intending to infer that had Tutahanga fought outside in his native forests he might have been successful in a sudden attack. But being caught in his *pa* these Nga-Puhi were equal to catching him. When Tutahanga's son heard this, he replied to Nga-Puhi, "*Haere mai te rau-kura ki te piki-kotuku kia pipiri raua ki Uenuku*"—"Come on, the Tropic-bird's* plume, and join in strife with the white heron plume before Uenuku" (the Taranaki god of war).

Now when Kere-tawha (? one of the northern *taua*) heard the defiance of Haere-ao, Tutahanga's son, he shouted out, "*Tena au haere atu na, penei ake te tupuna a wai, tutu ana te puehu i aku waewae.*" ("Very shortly will I be with you! As if your ancestor was anywhere of consequence! You shall see the dust of my feet fly directly!")

Patu-wairua, who was Haere-ao's son, heard this defiance from Kere-tawha, and perhaps thinking it would be well not to irritate Nga-Puhi, said to his father, "*Kia marie hoki te kura taiaha!*"—(Softly with the red-feathered *taiaha*!) Evidently Patu-wairua would have welcomed a peace; but Haere-ao would not listen or be persuaded, and then Patu-wairua felt that the end of his people was near, and he sung a lament for the tribe:—

Ra Meremere tahokai ana,
Te tara ki Tau-mata,
Kia mihi atu au,
Ka ngaro ra e,
Taku pokai kura,

Whilst the evening star bestrides
The lonely peak at Tau-mata,
Let me in sorrow here lament
The calamity about to fall
On my loved and cherished people.

*The Tropic-bird (Amokura) is occasionally, but not often, found at the New Cape.

Te matangi awhe uta
 Ki te whaititanga
 Me uta koutou,
 Ki te ihu o te waka
 Kia koha 'tu mai,
 Ki raro Waikato.
 E Nga-Puhi ra e!
 Kia ata whiu mai
 I te kara o te whiu,
 Kia tahuri ai au—e—.

By the all-embracing wind,
 (By our enemies there encamped)
 Within this narrow space.
 Better had ye been safely placed
 In the bows of our own canoe,
 Where some kindly feeling still
 By Waikato had been shown us.
 O Nga-Puhi! there below,
 In mercy hold thy hand
 And gently use the weapon,
 A! then let me turn aside.

Whatever Patu-wairua may have wished, he did not fail to do his full share of fighting when the time came. Mr. Skinner says, "The first assault by Nga-Puhi was repulsed, Patu-wairua, with his own weapon, killing two of the enemy who attempted to enter the *pa* by the narrow neck that connects it with the Puketapu peninsula. After the attack had failed the *taua* camped down along the slopes to the west and south-west of the *pa* and commenced a regular siege. These slopes—named Tau-maha—commanded the *pa*, and the inmates were constantly annoyed and sometimes killed by the muskets used by the *taua*. Ngati-Maru, of course, had no firearms, and as this was their first introduction to this new method of warfare they were naturally terrified at the loud reports and fatal effects that sometimes followed, and became much dispirited in consequence."

Tu-tanuku of Ngati-Maru says that before the northern *taua* had reached Te Kerikeringa, enquiries had been made of the local people as to the personal appearance of Tutahanga, and the reply was, "*E toa! he whetu!*"—"He is a star;" implying that he would easily be recognised from his great size and valiant bearing.) So when the first attack was made, which occurred at the entrance to the *pa*, Tutahanga and Patu-wairua stood in the forefront. The former disposed of four of his enemies before the northern people got a chance to shoot him, which they did on recognising the description already given.

It was no doubt during this period that the chiefs of the two parties—the red plumes and the white plumes—hurled defiance at one another as already related.

"The depression had its effect when the final assault took place, for the inmates of the *pa* had not the spirit to defend themselves with their accustomed courage. Their brave leaders, Tutahanga and Patu-wairua, had been killed, together with a large number of the inmates of the *pa*. The remainder succeeded in making their escape across the Waitara river to the eastward along the Tara-mouku valley, and thence into the numerous clearings throughout the great forest that extends inland for very many miles."

"After the usual cannibal feast, Nga-Puhi and Manu-korih returned to the coast, some of their number being waylaid and cut off by the Puke-rangiora people. Whatitiri, the present (1893) chief of Puke-rangiora has in his possession two old Maori fish hooks, the bone points of which were made from one of the Nga-Puhi there killed. One of these hooks" (is accredited with) "the faculty of foretelling good day for fishing, and also of warning its owner of approaching danger."

"Among those who escaped was Tu-ihu, then an infant; another Wirihana Hihi-mua so well known to the early settlers of Te Tarata; he was a very small boy at the time. He told me one story of the siege that has been related of other sieges in Maori-land" (for instance Pohatu-roa, Te Ati-amuri) "when in similar straits. When Ngati-Maru were very closely pressed at the end of the siege, they sent all the young women of the *pa* to the camp of the *taua*, so that they might by this means induce their foes to relax their vigilance, while the men in the meantime made their escape."

Watene says that amongst the slain was Tua-rua, a chief of the Puke-rangiora *hapu*, and that his people composed the following lament for him:—

'Tera hoki koia te pae tonga
Te tau mai ra kei Whare-o-Tu,
He po mihinga atu
Nahaku ki a Tua-rua,
Ka mahue atu ki taku, E Hine
Ka tauwehe.
Kia whakarongo nga tai e paku,
Ki waho Wao-kena ra, tu mai ai,
E ki ana ra Te Ati-Awa,
Te puru o Tainui ka maunu!
Taku whakatere papa
Ka tahuri i a Ranga-whenua,
I Turanga ra,
Noho maru kore nei hoki au.

There away towards the south
Evil rests on the house of Tu
(The house of war and death)
This night do I lament
Thy loss, O Tua-rua!
Left there thou art, and from my love
Separated for ever, O Lady!
Listen then to the sounding waves
Outside at Wao-kena, when they arise
('Tis the omen of death)
As all Ati-Awa say.

The plug of Tainui is withdrawn¹
 (That keeps back the flood of death)
 My beloved canoe is overturned
 By the waves of Ranga-whenua,²
 That are seen at Turanga ;
 Hence am I now shelterless.

It is stated above that the northern *taua* returned to the coast after the fall of Te Kerikeringa, but Watene, who was a very good authority, confirmed by Tu-tanuka, says, on the contrary, that they proceeded along the old forest track which leads by way of Whakaahu-rangi (the present site of Stratford), and so out of the forest into the open country near Kete-marae (near present site of Normanby). It is tolerably clear from the absence of any detail as to their doings as they passed onward through the territories of Ngati-Ruanui and Nga-Rauru, that these tribes had retired to their fastnesses in the rough forest country. Probably the news of the fall of Te Kerikeringa and the destructive effects of the muskets had quickly spread and alarmed the two tribes mentioned. One account, however, says the *taua* attacked and took the Otihoi *pa* at Waitotara, belonging to Nga-Rauru.

At any rate, the next we hear of the *taua* is at Whanganui, where they found the local people gathered in strength at Purua *pa*, believed to be on the east bank of the river, a little above the town. Here Ngati-Hau had gathered under Te Anaua and his brother. The northern *taua* here met with an unexpected difficulty, however, in reaching the Whanga-nui people in the *pa*. The river is large and deep and cannot be crossed without the aid of canoes, and all these the local people had carefully withdrawn from the north side and sent away up the river. But Tu-whare and Te Rau-paraha were not the men to be deterred by an obstacle of that nature. They sent every man to the little lake named Koko-huia, near the mouth of the river, where abundance of *raupo* grew on its sedgy banks, and there they built *mokihi*, or rafts, which were then taken to the river, and by this means the force was enabled to cross. It is said that the work occupied a month. The *taua* then crossed and attacked and took the Purua *pa*, and then passed on to Whangaehu and Rangi-tikei, having some skirmishes with the Ngati-Apa tribe of those parts, who mostly, however, fled to the forests as the *taua* approached, for the fame of their muskets had preceded them.

NOTES.—1. The plug of "Tainui" (or some other of the great canoes of the fleet) is an expression often used, as meaning that the restraining hand is withdrawn and the flood of evil drowns the canoe (the tribe).

2. The waves of Ranga-whenua are the immense rollers that occasionally break on the coasts of the Bay of Plenty, generally in fine weather and without apparent cause. They are believed to be the effect of Arctic storms at the end of the northern winter. These waves can be traced right across the Pacific, travelling south.

PUKE-RUA.

So they passed on till they came to Pae-kakariki, where the railway line leaves the coast and turns inland to Porirua. Here the *taua* found their way obstructed by a fortified *pa* named Puke-rua, situated a little to the west of the Railway Station, also called Puke-rua, twenty-two miles from Wellington. Mr. Elsdon Best, who gathered a large number of notes about Te Rau-paraha's doings, says that "the name of the Mua-upoko *pa* at Puke-rua was Wai-mapihi, so named after a little stream there coming down from the hills. After the massacre, those who survived fled up this stream to the forest ranges, pursued by Ngati-Toa, who overtook and killed many of them. The remains of the ramparts at Wai-mapihi are still to be seen, as also a few heavy stumps of the *totara* palisading, some native ovens, kitchen-middens, etc. The stream runs down past Whare-roa Railway Station, and the *pa* was near the mouth of the stream. Tungia and Takarae were two of the Ngati-Toa chiefs engaged in the capture of the *pa*. The name of the old Maori track from Taupo (Plimmerton) across the ranges and to the beach at Wai-mapihi was called Taua-tapu. This *pa* was held by the Ngati-Rangi *hapu* of the Mua-upoko tribe, and probably some members of the Ngati-Ira tribe of Porirua and Port Nicholson. The inmates offered so good a defence that the *taua* was repulsed, though, of course, the local people had nothing but their native arms as against the invaders' muskets. Watene says that Tu-whare and Te Rau-paraha now held council as to how this *pa* was to be taken, and it was finally settled, on the latter's suggestion, that peace should be offered to the local people with the intention of deceiving them. So a message was sent to the *pa*, "*He maunga-rongo ta maua ki tenei pa.*"—"We desire to make peace with the *pa*." The chiefs of the *pa* were thus deceived and agreed to make peace, thinking it was a *bona fide* one. When the *taua* had been allowed to enter the *pa*, they suddenly fell on the unsuspecting inmates and massacred nearly the whole of them. The Nga-Puhi account of this and other treacherous doings of the *taua* says that they were all instigated by Te Rau-paraha. From what is known of his character, it is not difficult to believe it; but at the same time his allies would be quite ready to fall in with his views.

PORT NICHOLSON.

Watene says that near Puke-rua and its neighbourhood—probably including Porirua harbour—the *taua* found so many fine canoes that they decided to continue their journey by water. So they put to sea on the stormy waters of Cook's Straits, and when they arrived at Te Rimu-rapa (Sinclair's Head) some of the canoes proceeded by the outside route, beyond the reefs, where the fierce currents of Cook's Straits raises a heavy sea. These canoes capsized and over a hundred

men were drowned. The rest of the party took the inside passage and thus reached Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Port Nicholson) in safety, landing at a place Watene calls Pa-ranga-hau, which I do not recognise.

On arrival of the *taua* at Pa-ranga-hau, they found some of the local tribe, the Ngati-Ira, there, and immediately attacked them, killing a great number of the unfortunate people by aid of their muskets, which, of course, were quite new to the Ngati-Ira—no ships having visited Port Nicholson at that time, so far as can be ascertained. "But," says Watene, "Nga-Puhi did not escape scatheless; Ngati-Ira charged them in the face of the flames from the muskets, and with their native weapons killed many Nga-Puhi. One night, not long after the Nga-Puhi had been camped at Te Aro (in the present city of Wellington), Ngati-Ira attacked Nga-Puhi in force during the night and succeeded in killing two hundred (?) of the latter tribe, including a high chief, 'Te Karu' (who belonged, I believe, to the Roroa *hapu* of Ngati-Whatua).

For the rest of the Nga-Puhi doings at Port Nicholson, readers must be referred to "Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes," where they will be found in considerable detail as told by one of the actors, and most of which is corroborated by Watene.

WAIRARAPA.

Subsequently, the *taua* went on by sea to Wai-rarapa, where they took the Tau-whare-nikau *pa*,* killing, says Watene, over four hundred people of the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu tribe, but the principal chiefs escaped to the forests and made their way north to Poranga-hau. A *pa* named Mawhitiwhiti, belonging to Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, was also taken at this time, the chief of which was named Te Papahinga. Another account says this *pa* belonged to Ngati-Ira and was at Poranga-hau, possibly the Pa-ranga-hau mentioned by Te Watene, which was at Port Nicholson, and thus agrees with the statement that the *pa* belonged to Ngati-Ira, which tribe owned Port Nicholson. Here Nga-Puhi met a repulse, the fight taking place in the water of a lake or stream, until Ngati-Toa came up, when the local people were beaten. After remaining in this district some time, the chiefs of the *taua* assembled in council decided it would be better to return on their tracks, for there were signs that the powerful tribe of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu were assembling with their thousands of warriors to chastise the invaders. So with hundreds of prisoners the *taua* embarked on board their canoes on Wai-rarapa lake, and thence came down the river connecting that lake with the sea, to the ocean, and so back to Port Nicholson, there to find an empty land, save for a few fugitives of Ngati-Ira, who were

* It is also said that Hakikino *pa* was taken at this time, but I think this is a mistake. It was taken in the next expedition, the "Amio-whenua."

scattered in the recesses of the Tararua mountains, with here and there a few families on the western side of the harbour, eking out a bare subsistence on the roots and fruits of the forest, for the *taua*, on its latest visit, had destroyed all cultivations, together with the villages. It is evident from the great scarcity of old *pas* round about Wellington, that the tribes formerly dwelling in the district were not *pa* builders. The rocky nature of the soil has had much to do with this. There are a few *pas* still extant, but they are miserable specimens compared with those of Taranaki and some other parts.

TE POU-ROTO IS DROWNED.

After staying a short time at Port Nicholson, the *taua* again put to sea and rounded Cape Te Ra-whiti, putting into Ohariu Bay, where Tamai-rangi was captured, as related later on. Whilst here, Te Pou-roto, one of the Nga-Puhi chiefs, determined to cross the Straits against the wishes of the others, and continue their man-killing operations in the South Island. So he started off in one or more canoes, manned by eighty men, but a sudden storm coming on in the rough and dangerous crossing, Te Pou-roto and all his party were drowned, whilst their companions looked on, helpless, from the bluff at Omere, just to the south of Ohariu. This bluff was the place the people always visited to see if the Straits were calm enough to cross—hence the reference in the old song:—

Ka rou Omere ki waho
He maunga tuteinga aio.

Where Omere projects outside,
The look-out mount for calms.

It was whilst the *taua* were staying at Omere that a ship was seen to pass through the Straits, but without communicating with the shore. The northern chiefs, Patuone, Waka-nene, and others, called Te Rau-paraha's attention to it, pointing out that this part of the coast would be a favourable one for him to remove to from Kawhia (where for years his tribe, the Ngati-Toa, had been embroiled with Waikato) in order that by trading with the white people he might acquire as many muskets as he wished. Te Rau-paraha was favourably impressed with this advice, and, as we shall see, finally adopted it.

Passing onwards towards their homes, the *taua* came into collision with the Ngati-Apa tribe at Rangi-tikei, and, in a skirmish here, Te Rangi-haeata captured Pikinga, a woman of high rank, whom he made his wife.

DEATH OF TU-WHARE.

Eventually, the party reached the Whanganui river, coming all the way, and indeed up to Patea, in the canoes they had captured. Here they stayed some time, and then a division in the councils of the leaders appears to have taken place, for Ngati-Toa and Nga-Puhi remained in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Whanganui, whilst

Tu-whare and the Roroa people decided to go up the river. For what follows I am indebted to Mr. Best and Mr. Downes, and to particulars learnt from Aitua Te Rakai-waho of Upper Whanganui.

Mr. Best says: "The people of Puke-namu (Rutland Stockade, town of Whanganui), Patupo and Taumaha-ute (on top of Shakespeare's Cliff, Whanganui), and all the other *pas* in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the river, fled inland as soon as the northern *taua* appeared, taking in their canoes all the property they could manage, for the recollection of the previous visit of the invaders a few months before, and the devastation they then caused, were fresh in their minds. As Tu-whare and his party advanced up the river, they were harassed by the people occupying the numerous *pas* belonging to Ngati-Hau and other tribes on either side of the river. (At Te Arero-o-uru, a *pa* between one and two miles below the modern village of Koroniti (Corinth) they caught and killed a chief named Pakura and captured a woman named Waitoki, who was carried by the *taua* as far as the Ngati-Ruanui country, when she escaped and got back to Wai-totara, where she met a worse fate, for she was killed by the Nga-Rauru people. Thus death was subsequently avenged by Koroheke and Rangi-whakahaua of Whanganui, who slew a great many of Nga-Rauru.—From Mr. T. W. Downes.) Many parties closed in on the rear of the invaders, thus attempting to cut off their retreat. 'But what was that to Tu-whare?' says my informant, 'He cleared a path for his party by the terror of his guns. When we heard the sounds of those guns we thought they were *pu-tatara* (the old Maori trumpet), and our old men said, 'Does this man think to conquer the Ati-Hau with his *pu-tatara*? Are the descendants of Ao-kehu and Tama-whiro, of Hau-pipi and Pae-rangi* flying from a sound?' So said our warriors; but when we saw our men falling dead around us, struck from afar off by an invisible missile, then the knowledge came to us that this was the new weapon of which we had heard, and we saw that our *rakau-maori*, or native weapons, were of little avail against the *pu-matā*, or muskets. Still we resisted the advance of Nga-Puhi and attacked them wherever opportunity offered† all the way up the river, and those in the rear followed them up in their canoes. Far up Te Awa-nui-a-Rua (a name for Whanganui river) did Tu-whare fight his way, until he reached Te Ana-o-Tararo, near Makokoti (fifty-three

* Ao-kehu, an ancestor, a noted Taniwha slayer—see Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. XIII., p. 94. Hau-pipi, the great ancestor of the Ngati-Hau of Whanganui. Pae-rangi, another ancestor of the Whanganui people.—See Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. XIV., p. 131.

† One of the Nga-Puhi accounts say that Ngati-Pa-moana of the celebrated *pa* Operiki, made a fierce resistance to the advance of the northern *taua* at that *pa*, which is situated three-fourths of a mile above Corinth. This *pa* has often been attacked.

miles above Pipiriki, a *pa* at the junction of Rere-taruke with Whanganui, but I think Te Ana is some way below this). Here the river is narrow and has high cliffs on both sides. On the summit of these cliffs a great number of people had collected to stay the progress of Nga-Puhi. Messengers had gone forth to alarm the tribes of the river and of the interior. Then the *hapus* of Ati-Hau, Patu-tokotoko, Nga-Poutama, Ngati-Pa-moana, and Nga-Paerangi came together at Te Ana-o-Tararo. The tribes of Tuhua and Taupo-nui-a-Tia (the full name of Lake Taupo) sent their contingents to help silence the boastful Nga-Puhi. Thus Nga-Puhi came. When the canoes of Tu-whare were passing through the narrows we attacked them. From the summit of the cliffs we hurled down logs and huge stones upon the canoes, crushing and killing many."

Thus far, Mr. Best: but it is clear this was not the final attack which took place higher up. From five or six miles above Pipiriki for forty or more miles, the river is very generally lined with perpendicular cliffs about one hundred feet high, and any part of this long stretch would fit Mr. Best's description. I will now follow Te Aitua's story. "The Nga-Puhi had succeeded in passing the narrow cliff-bound part of the river and ascended above the junction of Rere-taruke, where the hostile movements of the local tribes became so threatening and their numbers so great that Nga-Puhi considered it time to turn back, especially as they had lost some of their canoes, thus necessitating some to travel overland. As they approached the Kai-whakauka *pa*, situated half a mile down stream from the Rere-taruke junction, on the east side of the river, the invaders found the Whanganui tribes assembled in vast numbers under the leadership of Turoa and other chiefs awaiting the return of Nga-Puhi. Finding their route barred, the *taua* saw their only chance was to trust to their guns and fight it out. They first occupied the opposite side of the river (where there is a little native village now—1905) and from there fired into the *pa*, but the distance is rather much for the old-fashioned muskets. The *pa* at Kai-whakauka is situated on the top of a perpendicular cliff on the river side, with cliffs also on the north, where a little stream joins the main river through a cañon. Nga-Puhi (who, says my informant, were eight hundred strong with five hundred muskets—a very obvious exaggeration, the numbers being probably not more than three hundred men and thirty or forty guns) now crossed and occupied the slopes that rise from the *pa* towards the south, from which they kept up a constant fire on the *pa*. Under this fire, Nga-Puhi attacked and succeeded in getting into the fort, where, however, the numbers of Whanganui, now able to fight at close quarters with their native weapons, were too much for their foes, a very large number of whom were killed in the *pa*; others were thrown over the cliffs, to be killed on the rocks below. Whilst Tu-whare was in the *pa*, and just coming

round the corner of a house, he was met by Ha-marama, a chief of Whanganui, whom Tu-whare fired at and hit in the shoulder; but before he could reload, Ha-marama struck him a blow on the head with his *taiaha*, which split his skull, but did not kill him. Tu-whare called out, '*Mehemea he ringa huruhuru tau, ko tenei he ringaringa mahi kai.*'—("If thine had been the arms of a warrior I should have been killed; but it is the arm of a cultivator.")

Tu-whare's people succeeded in getting him away, and carried him wounded unto death, to their canoes, and then made off with all speed down the river, followed by Whanganui as hard as they could paddle. A flying fight ensued for some way down the river, until darkness set in—this was winter time—when hostilities ceased, and both parties, exhausted after the exertions of the day, went into camp at no great distance from one another. During this flight, Toki-whatī, a son (or perhaps nephew) of Tu-whare, was captured by Whanganui. As the two parties were resting in their camp, a parley took place, in which Tu-whare asked his enemies if they had seen Toki-whatī; the reply was that they held him a prisoner. Upon this, negotiations took place and Toki-whatī was given up to his own people in exchange for part of a suit of armour that George IV. had given to Hongi when that chief visited England in 1820, and from whom it came into the possession of Tu-whare.*

This incident appears to have ended the fighting, for next morning the northern *taua* embarked, and with the swift current of the Whanganui under them, in a day or two reached the camp of their allies near the mouth of the river.

Te Aitua-te-Rakei-waho, from whom I obtained many of the above particulars, is a grandson of Ha-marama (whose other name was Te Whaingaroa), who gave Tu-whare the blow that eventually proved fatal, and he still possesses the *taiaha* that his grandfather used on that occasion, which bears the name of "Ringa-mahi-kai," so called after Tu-whare's expression.

The great expedition now passed on its way homeward, going by canoes as far as Patea, where, apparently, a division took place, some going on in their canoes to Waitara, whilst others, the Roroa people, went overland, carrying poor Tu-whare on a *kauhoa*, or stretcher. On their arrival at Kete-marae, the old native settlement not far from Normanby, Tu-whare expired of his wounds. So died this great chief,

* As these lines go to print, it is reported that the armour has recently been recovered and is now (1908) deposited in the Dominion Museum, Wellington, but it is clear some mistake occurs in the native accounts, for Hongi had not yet returned from England when this fight took place, and the armour is more probably that presented to Titore long after this event. What the object given in exchange for Toki-whatī was, cannot now be ascertained.

who, in many battles, had shown his courage and ability as a warrior. This was his third expedition to Taranaki, the first having been either with Muru-paenga or Tau-kawau. From Kete-marae, the body was carried on to Manu-korihi, at Waitara, where it was buried near Tau-kawau at the Rohutu burial ground. The Manu-korihi people, it will be remembered, were connected with Tu-whare, and hence his bones would be safe from desecration, a point of great moment to the Maori.*

After the burial of Tu-whare and the usual *tangi*, etc., the northern *taua* passed onwards towards their homes. With the canoes they possessed, probably they went by sea to Kawhia, where the northern tribes took farewell of Te Rau-paraha and the Ngati-Toa tribe, their companions in arms for so long. It is said that Nga-Puhi and the Roroa people presented Te Rau-paraha with fifty stand of arms, but probably, this is an exaggeration, though some were given, no doubt, which the Ngati-Toa chief shortly after used against Waikato and in his memorable migration to the south.

The Nga-Puhi contingent of this long expedition reached Hokianga about October, 1820, for when Marsden passed through the homes of these people in November of that year the women were still in the *whare-potae*, or mourning over those who had been killed at Taranaki. Two of the northern chiefs became afterwards celebrated for their consistent support they always rendered the British Government—in peace and war—the brothers Eruera Patuone and Tamati Waka-nene, both chiefs of Upper Hokianga. They both assisted actively in our war against Hone Heke, 1844. Patuone died 19th September, 1872, supposed to have been over one hundred years old.

The following is quoted from Marsden's "Journal" (already referred to) in reference to this expedition:—"24th November, 1820. Patuone informed me that he had been on the South Island across Cook's Straits, and that on his way his party was attacked at Taranaki and some of them killed, among whom was Mau-whena's son and two more chiefs belonging to here (Lower Hokianga). That he had retaliated upon the enemy, killing some, and taking many prisoners, among whom were many women and children; and that at length he had made peace with them and returned their children when redeemed by instruments of war made of green-talc and some mats. He had left ten of his people there who had married, and brought a number away with him, some of whom were present, and that he and the people of Taranaki were now completely reconciled."

Marsden also mentions, under date 21st November, that a Taranaki chief, much tattooed and with much hair on his head, was then on visit to Mau-whena's village (at Whirinaki, Lower Hokianga)—wh

* See Appendix to this chapter.

this could be I know not, but probably he was one of the Manu-korihi people.

TE ARIKI, THE PLAGUE OF 1820.

New Zealand has been visited twice (at least) by some serious disease which ran through the country like wild-fire, carrying off many thousands. The first scourge is believed to have occurred in 1795. The second one, called by the Taranaki people "Te Ariki," occurred about the end of 1820. The following brief account of it was given to Mr. Skinner and myself by old Watene Taungatara of Waitara in 1897. He said this was introduced by the ship "Coromandel," which discovered the harbour of that name in Hauraki Gulf in August, 1820. This plague, or whatever it was, spread from the crew amongst the Maoris, and passed on from tribe to tribe until it reached Taranaki. It swept down the coast, taking village after village and *pa* after *pa* in its course, killing a large number of people. No sooner had the survivors in one place begun to recover a little than the next place was attacked. So severe was it that in some cases there were not enough people left alive to bury the dead. The *tokungas* proceeded to try by their arts to stop the mischief. As the evil was of European origin, they first made a representation of a ship in sand, with masts and rigging such as had been described to them, for at that time none had seen any vessels. Over these imitation ships, as a *tuāhu*, or altar, they repeated their *karakias*, but alas! they could not stop the evil. Many thousands are said to have perished in this district.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XII.

DEFEAT OF THE NORTHERN TRIBES AT NGA-WEKA.

(?) 1820.

REPEATED, but unavailed, attempts have been made to determine the date of the above event. One good authority states : occurred during the Tu-whare—Te Rau-paraha expedition of 1820 and he is corroborated by another, but others are uncertain. As will not do to omit an event of such importance, and especially as was one of the few occasions on which the Taranaki tribe appear to have obtained revenge for many defeats at the hands of the Northern tribes, the account is inserted here.

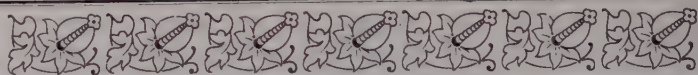
Thanks to the care of the Taranaki Scenery Preservation Society the old *pa* of Nga-weka is in an excellent state of preservation, and is interesting as a type of fortification not uncommon in the district round Cape Egmont, where the otherwise easy slope of the country from Mount Egmont to the sea, is broken up by volcanic hillocks, due no doubt to small explosions on the surface of the lava as it flowed from the mountain. The *pa* stands on the south bank of the Hanga-tahua, or Stony river, about three-quarters of a mile inland from the bridge on the Great South Road. It is now covered with a secondary growth of timber, which has served to preserve the many *maioro*, or ramparts in their integrity. The *pa* stands on two hills, the tops of which are separated about seventy yards, and has perpendicular cliffs along the river about thirty feet high.

On first hearing of the approach of a hostile force, the Nga-mahanga *hapu*, of Taranaki, all assembled to consider what steps should be taken to meet it. Some proposed that each *hapu* should remain in its own *pa* and await attack, but one of the chiefs of Nga-weka arose and said, "*Kia kotahi ano taringa hei ngaunga ma te hauriri.*" ("Let there be only one ear for the enemy to bite.") This was finally agreed to by all, so the various *hapus* gathered together at Nga-weka to await the enemy, the chiefs being Tama-piri, Tu-whakaihō, and Te Ra-whakahuru. So soon as all were assembled at the *pa*, parties were sent out to obtain wood from a place celebrated for trees suitable for spear-making; and they obtained large quantities

many of great length (*huatas*). At the time of the attack there were eighty warriors within the northern part of the *pa*, one hundred and forty in the southern part. The *taua* advanced and commenced to lay siege to the *pa*. They are said to have been under the chiefs Kahu-nui and Wherori, supposed by one of my informants to belong to the Mauiui *hapu* of Waikato—though no such name is known to me. Other accounts state that the force was under Tu-whare, or possibly part of Tu-whare's people, and that they were assisted by some of the Puke-tapu and Puke-rangiora *hapu* of Te Ati-Awa.

After some time the attacking *taua* decided to assault the place, at a spot between the two hillocks where the ground is lower, and where was one of the entrances into the *marae* of the *pa*, situated in the hollow and overlooked by the ramparts of both *pas*. Here was a confined space, some fifty feet by twenty-five feet, leading out to the cliff overhanging the river. The Nga-mahanga people on learning that an attack was to take place, decided to allow the enemy to enter and occupy this narrow space. As soon as they had all gathered there, the warriors from both *pas* rushed down, and with their long spears killed many of the enemy. Then closing in on them, a desperate hand to hand fight took place, in which the enemy could do little, hampered as he was by the confined space. Seeing defeat imminent, the northern *taua* found only one way of escape open to them, and this was along the deep ditch leading out to the cliff. Hastening along this, they were closely followed by Nga-mahanga, until all were gathered on the edge of the perpendicular cliff. The pressure from behind soon drove the foremost rank over the cliff, where most of them were killed by the fall on to the boulders of the Hanga-tahua river, whilst Nga-mahanga harried and hustled those in the rear until the whole body of the attacking force was precipitated into the bed of the river, until, as is said, there was a bridge of dead and dying bodies across the river, over which a few of the defeated made their escape to the north bank of the river, and to the hill where Mr. W. Grey's house now stands, and there passed the ensuing night in lamenting their losses, departing for their homes the following morning. The people of the *pa* hauled up the dead bodies by aid of supplejack ropes, and then enjoyed the usual feast. The following men of rank in the northern *taua* were killed here: Kahu-nui, Kuri (or Kurukuru), and Rori (or Wherori)—another account adds Rakatau to the number of slain.

For some particulars of the above affair I am indebted to Mr. W. Grey of Okato.



NOTES AND QUERIES.

[197] The Cave Dwellings at Te Pehu. (See J.P.S., Vol. XVII., p. 222.)

Takaanui Tarakawa, the Historian of the Tapuika tribe, writes in appreciation of Mr. Cowan's article as above, and adds his confirmation of its accuracy. He refers to Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. VIII., p. 185, as having a connection with the notes gathered by Mr. Cowan, and adds, "That relation is very important in this connection, and was omitted from the information supplied to Sir George Grey at Mokoia island, Rotorua, when he first met Te Arawa tribes. There were gathered there all the old and learned men of the tribe, but it was only Maihi-Te-Rangi-ka-heke who gave Sir George the particulars published in his "Nga Mahinga"—none of the best *tohungas* said anything to him on those subjects, and there were many alive at that time. Mr. Cowan's narrative is quite correct."

To the above may be added, that the Arawa *tohungas* blamed Maihi-Te-Rangi-ka-heke very much for the inaccuracy of his history of Te Arawa, when they saw it in print.

EDITOR.

[198] An Ancient Name of New Zealand.

Col Gudgeon writes—"Amongst these people (Rarotongans, etc.) an ancient name for New Zealand was Rangimaki, long before it received that of Hawaiki tahutahu. All of the Northern Islands of this group (Cook's Group) and many of the Rarotongan learned men declare they came originally from New Zealand."



TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

A MEETING of the Council took place at the Library on the 1st April. Present :—
The President, and Messrs. Fraser, Parker, Skinner, W. W. Smith and Newman.

After dealing with correspondence, the following new members were elected :—

John Holdsworth, Swartmoor, Havelock, H. B.

Henry Douglas-Scott, Captain (retired), Drumlanrig, Dumfriesshire.

Angus & Robertson, 89-95 Castlereagh Street, Sydney.

G. H. Bullard, New Plymouth.

The Committee appointed at the Council Meeting, 7th December last, reported that exchanges with certain Societies might be dispensed with, in view of want of space in the Library.

The following papers were reported as received :—

The God Io. Te Whatahoro.

Rarotonga Genealogies. S. Savage.

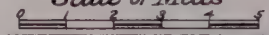
The Samoan version of Apakura. Dr. E. Von Schultz.

The Breadfruit Tree in Maori Traditions. J. Cowan.

Te Korero mo Kataore. T. Tarakawa.

List of publications received was reserved until next meeting.

Scale of Miles



Aotea Harbor

Reference

Old Tracks shown thus-----
Old Pas ----- "----- "----- ■



Kawhia Harbor

Albatross Pt.
Taungatara

Waikura St.

Waiohewa St.

Matatoki Stn

Haribari

Taumata totara

Marokopa S.

Old Track

To Angela

Mangahoe 9

W. Gordon del

825-6100

HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF THE TARANAKI COAST.

CHAPTER XIII.

TE RAU-PARAHA AND HIS DOINGS AT KAWHIA.

IN Chapter XI. hereof the celebrated Te Rau-paraha of Ngati-Toa tribe first comes into our narrative; and as he and his people played such an important part in the later history of the Taranaki tribes, it will be of interest to refer to the causes that led up to the migration of Ngati-Toa from their old home at Kawhia to Kapiti, the island in Cook's Straits which was so long their home. This name, Kapiti (which may be translated as "precipitous"), was not only the name of the island, but, by other tribes than those who lived in its neighbourhood, was used as a convenient term in modern times to denote all that part of the adjacent coasts of both North and South islands. It will be frequently used in that sense in what follows.

The Ngati-Toa tribe and its various *hapus* are the direct descendants of the crew of the "Tai-nui" that formed one of the fleet of canoes that came from Tahiti in *circa* 1350. Until the year 1821, this tribe had always occupied Kawhia and the coast south from that harbour, as far as Marokopa river, or perhaps further.* It was not the crew of "Tai-nui," however, that gave the name originally to Kawhia, but rather Turi, captain of the "Aotea," soon after they landed at Aotea harbour (named after the canoe) a few miles north. On reaching Kawhia, they performed the ceremony called *awhi*, which seems to have been a common one, known under different names, by which all evil influences supposed to pertain to a new land, were removed, and in avoidance of the desecration of the personal *tapu* of the new-comers secured. The name is thus, *Ka-awhi-a*, the last *a* forming the passive of the verb *awhi*, and *ka* the sign of the present and future tense. We may thus translate the name as "the place where all evil influence was removed." The *tuāhu*, or sacred altar, used by Hotu-roa, captain and

* Most of the localities referred to in this chapter will be found on Map No. 4.

chief priest of "Tai-nui," his brother Hotu-nui, and other priests; that canoe was situated not far from the modern town of Kawhia (the Maori name of which is Po-wewe), and it is very interesting to note that its name was given in remembrance of a district (and, probably, *marae*) in their ancient home at Tahiti. Ahurei is the name of the *tuāhu*, and Te Fana-i-Ahurai (Te Whanga-i-Ahurai in Maori) is the present name of the district a few miles south-west of Pape-ete, chief town of the French possessions in Oceania, island of Tahiti; from which (as also from Papara, the next district south) the Maoris came in 1350. The first *kumaras*, brought in the "Tai-nui," were planted by Whakaoti-rangi, Hotu-roa's wife, at a place which they named Hawaiki—again in remembrance of the general name of their ancient home—for this was the name given to all the islands of the group round Tahiti.

The "Tai-nui" canoe arrived after the "Aotea," and finding Kawhia unoccupied—the "Aotea" crew having gone on south—the people settled at that harbour, and spread from there all over Waikato and a large part of the west centre of the North Island. The Ngati-Toa tribe, however, remained, settling down near where their ancestors landed. But it was not until some ten or eleven generations ago that the present tribal name was adopted from one of their principal chiefs named Toa-rangatira. Previous to that they were called Ngati-Mango.

There are many *hapus* claiming ancestry with Ngati-Toa, of which the following are some:—Ngati-Rarua, Ngati-Koata, Ngati-Haumi, whakatere-taniwha, Te Kiri-wera, Ngati-Hangai, etc.

The following is an interesting genealogical table showing the descent of Ngati-Toa from Turi of the "Aotea" canoe. It is supplied by Tungia Ngahuka of that tribe (son of the famous Tungia). One will be noticed both Mango and Toa-rangatira, eponymous ancestors of the tribe:—

TABLE NO. LIV.

	Turi (of "Aotea")
20	Turi-mata-kino
	Turi-mata-oneone
	Kura-waka-i-mua
	Tuhinga
	Pou-tama
15	Mango
	Kai-hamu
	Te Uru-tira
	Tu-pahau
	Koro-kino
10	Toa-rangatira
	Marangai-paraoa
	Te Maunu
	Te Mahutu
	Taka-mai-te-rangi

5 Te Matoe

1 Te Kanae 2 Te Puaha 3 Tama-i-hengia

|
Te Whirihau *

.....

.....

I do not think that Turi's son here shown is known to his other descendants, but it is probable that Turi found some of the original inhabitants at Kawhia, and, as was the custom, one of their women was given to him as a wife, from whom this line descends. That Ngati-Toa claim descent from the old *tangata-whenua*, the following table will show, which is from the same source as the preceding one :—

TABLE NO. LV.

	Ngai-nui
	Ngai-roa
	Ngai-peha
	Ngai-tuturi
	Ngai-pekapeka
28	Te Manu-waero-rua (father also of Toi)
	Uenuku-hangai
	Rongomai-ahu-rangi
25	Ranga-pu
	Kaihu
	Kahu-tai
	Uru-hina
	Tangi-wharau
20	Te Awe-o-te-rangi
	Ngarara-kura
	Ehau
	Hau-nui
	Hau-roa
15	Haumia-whakatere-taniwha †
	E tara-tukunga-reka
	Haumia
	Taonga-iwi
	Tama-iwi-tarekareka
10	Maki
	Kuru-whare
	Hine-wairoro = Turanga-peke
	Kahu-taiki = Te Maunu
	Maui
5	Apitia
	Apitia

* A draughtsman, Survey Department, Auckland, in 1863 ; then about twenty years old.

† Eponymous ancestor of the *hapu* of Ngati-Toa of that name.

The first five names on this list beginning with Ngai are well-known *tangata-whenua* ancestors of the Bay of Plenty people, and Te Manuwaero-rua is either the father or mother of Toi-kai-rakau of the same people. In Chapter IV. it is shown that this Toi lived thirty-or-generations ago; here his parent is shown to have flourished twenty-eight generations ago—not too great a discrepancy to disprove the identity of the individual.

The above table, in its latter end, runs into the Ati-Awa tribe Apitia, the last named, died at the Chatham Islands about thirty years ago at a probable age of forty to fifty years.

Haumia (15 in table) received his name from the following circumstance: Haumia, who lived at Kawhia fifteen generations ago, possessed a *kumara* plantation situated on a cliff (let us suppose it to be a low one) overlooking the sea. His crops were constantly destroyed year after year in a most unaccountable manner. At last, Haumia found out the cause, in the existence of an immense *taniwha* (sea-monster), which dwelt in a cave in the base of the cliff, and which caused the waves to rise and inundate the cultivations. This *taniwha* whose name was Rapa-roa, was slain by Haumia, who thereafter received the name of Haumia-whakaterere-taniwha (Haumia-the-*taniwha* floater), which is borne by his descendants to this day as their tribal cognomen.

I have been favoured by Mr. James Cowan with the loan of a copy of the notes taken by Mr. John Ormsby at the Native Land Court, Otorohanga, in 1886, detailing the evidence given by Major W. Te Wheoro (sometime M.H.R.) and Hone Kaora, in the case of the title to Kawhia, from which is taken the following information as to events at that place in the early times of Te Rau-paraha. I am further indebted to Mr. Andrew Wilson, Government Surveyor, for the identification of some of the place names and other information.

The notes are unsatisfactory, as they do not make any pretence to be a continuous narrative, but enough can be made out to furnish an outline of the perpetual state of warfare, murders, and treacherous actions which characterised the period. Te Rau-paraha is believed to have been born about 1780—see Mr. W. T. L. Traver's "Life of Te Rau-paraha"—and therefore the first event noticed below would not occur until about the year 1800—for he would not have been a leader much before that time. All the troubles that ensued on the death of Te Uira occurred within the next twenty-one years or prior to 1821, when Ngati-Toa left Kawhia.

It appears that during the constant strife that existed between the Waikato tribes and those living on the west coast from Whaingaroa

(Raglan) to Kawhia (which there is no need to follow Major Te Wheoro in describing)—that a large *taua* of Ngati-Paoa (of the Hauraki Gulf), Ngati-Haho, and Ngati-Hine (of Waikato) made an excursion to Whaingaroa, which district they found at that time to be practically uninhabited, due to previous wars. From there the party passed southward to Aotea Harbour, and proceeded to attack a *pa* on the western side towards the sea, called O-whakarito; where they succeeded in killing the chiefs Whata and Wai-tapu, and took the *pa*. It is not stated to what tribe these victims belonged, but evidently they were allies of Te Rau-paraha's tribe, Ngati-Toa. Two chiefs of the *pa*, Ra-waho and Patete, succeeded in making good their escape. At this period most of the Aotea district was unoccupied, due to previous wars, and so the Ngati-Mahanga people (now of Raglan) came down and took possession.

This proceeding on the part of Ngati-Mahanga incensed the Ngati-Toa and their allies of Kawhia, and consequently Te Rau-paraha raised a *taua* and proceeded in his war-canoes to Whaingaroa, where he attacked Ngati-Mahanga, killing Tu-tonga, Ue-hoka, Te Wharengori, and Moana-taiaha; after which the victors returned to their homes at Kawhia. Although Ngati-Pou are not mentioned, it is clear from other sources that they suffered in this raid.

There was apparently another reason also for this attack on Whaingaroa. Mr. Shand obtained the following from Petera Te Pukutua, the late head chief of the Ngati-Whakawe branch of Te Arawa. Mr. Shand says, "It may be remarked that the people whom Te Rau-paraha attacked were killed in revenge for the massacre, by Ngati-Pou, living at Tarahanga (query, on the Waikato between Rangiriri and Kopu) of a number of Ngati-Toa women, his relatives, who were on their way to an *uhunga* (or crying over the dead) at the home of Te Hia-kai, several of them being Topeora's and Te Rangi-haeata's brothers and sisters. Some say there were thirty, others ten, of them. The massacre took place at Te Whakairoiro. Had Te Hia-kai been there, the people would have been saved. The cause of Ngati-Pou's action in this matter is uncertain, but no doubt due to some old quarrel. Te Rau-paraha sought revenge for it, first apprising Ngati-Pou of his intentions, especially Uehoka (mentioned above) who was living in a semi-fortified village. He replied to Te Rau-paraha's message in a derisive strain, on learning which, Te Rau-paraha said, 'O indeed! Does he say so!' and then took immediate action, capturing Uehoka's *pa*, killing and eating him and his people, with another of their chiefs named Kuku, all of whom are mentioned in Topeora's lament to be found in Nga-Moteatea, p. 300."

That lament is as follows, and we note in it the virulent vehemence which characterises this lady's many effusions. She was Te Rau-paraha's niece.

HE KAI-ORAORA NA TOPE-ORA.

Kaore hoki koia te mamae,
 Te au noa taku moe ki te whare,
 Tuia ana te hau taua
 I a Te Kahawai, whakaohe rawa.
 Kia kaha, e te iwi kaha-kore
 Te hapai o te patu,
 Kia riro mai taku kai ko Titoko.
 Ka nene aku niho
 Puhi kaha ko Ue-hoka
 Ka kohekohe taku korokoro,
 Roro hunanga no Pou-tu-keka,
 A horo matatia e au
 Te roro piro o Tara-tikitiki.
 Whakakiki ake taku poho,
 Ko Taiawa, me ko Tu-tonga.
 Waiho mai ra aku huruhuru,
 Te puahau o Te Tihi-rahi.
 'A kai atu ko Kuku, ko Ngahu,
 Ko te tupuna i tupu ai
 O mahara tohe riri.
 E tapu ra te upoko o Te Rua-keri-po,
 Tē homai hei kotutu wai kaeo.
 Ki Te Kawau,
 Ka tukutuku i te ia
 Ki Tarahanga,
 Ki te kai-angaanga i Ngati-Pou
 Ka hirere taku toto
 Ki runga ki te tumuaki koroheke,
 Te Rangi-moe-waka tohe riri.

TRANSLITERATION.

Alas! how great this constant pain,
 That prevents all sleep in my house,
 For I am pierced by war's alarms,
 Due to Te Kaha-wai; 'tis this arouses me.
 Then be ye strong, ye listless people
 In skilfully plying your weapons.
 And hither bring Titoko, as a meal for me,
 My teeth will gnash and tear
 My throat, with eager desire, is tickling
 For the hidden brains of Pou-tu-keka,
 The stinking brains of Tara-tikitiki
 Will I swallow still uncooked.
 Kai-awa and Tu-tonga, both,
 Shall fill me up inside.
 My hair shall form a top-knot
 To degrade the head of Te Tihi-rahi,

Kuku and Ngahu, will I gladly eat,
 The ancestor from whom did spring
 Thy thoughts of angry strife.
 Sacred is the head of Rua-keri-po,
 But as a dish for mussels shall it be
 At Te Kawau, at our home.
 Then turn my thoughts to the current
 At Tarahanga, on Waikato's bank,
 Where dwelt those cursed heads, Ngati-Pou,
 There shall my blood spout forth
 On to that old man's head, on to
 Rangī-moe-waka, originator of strife.

This success on the Te Rau-paraha's part, was reported far and wide, and soon reached the ears of those branches of Waikato living at the mouth of the river, some thirty-five miles north of Whaingaroa, who decided at once to take up the cause of Ngati-Mahanga (and Ngati-Pou), and aid them to avenge their losses.

Accordingly the tribes mentioned below assembled at Waikato Heads and proceeded by sea to Kawhia. Te Wheoro has preserved the names of the various canoes in which the party embarked. The *tauā* must have been a large one.

Canoe	Kau-te-uri	manned by	Ngati-Tipa, of Waikato Heads.
"	Tai-ki-harare	"	Ngati-Pou, of Tuakau.
"	Rakau-mangamanga	"	Ngati-Mahuta, of Raglan.
"	Mauku-wae	"	" "
"	Tuatea-rahi	"	" "
"	Te Aha-tua-roa	}	{ Ngati-Te-Ata, of Waiuku, and
"	Te Whata-kai-kuri		
		"	Ngati-Paoa, of Hauraki.

As the fleet came along "Rakau-mangamanga" was driven on shore near Rua-puke (near Woody Head, a few miles south of Raglan), but by aid of the other canoes she was got off, and then they all went on to Kawhia, and encamped at a place named Otiki, where all were assembled under the great Waikato chief, Kare-waho. Whilst here the local people (? Ngati-Toa) advanced, and a fight ensued, in which the latter were defeated, losing Te Weu, Patea, and Ingoa, after which the rest retreated to Ohaua, which was their *pa*. Waikato now attacked this *pa*, and whilst the attack was in progress Wai-tohi, Te Rau-paraha's sister (and mother of Te Rangī-haeata and Topeora) recognised the Ngati-Te-Ata chiefs, Awarua, Rahurahu, Te Tuhi, Te Tawa, and Te Kauae, and exclaimed, "These are the servants of Ngati-Mai-o-taki who are attacking us." The meaning of this is not clear, but evidently Ngati-Toa saw, in the presence of these people, a chance of making up the quarrel, which the attacking party appear not to have been sorry to acquiesce in, for peace was made and the Waikato *tauā* returned home.

DEATH OF TE UIRA, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

It would appear that at this time Aotea, or parts of that district, was still unoccupied notwithstanding that, as related above, Ngati-Mahanga a Waikato tribe, had taken possession, and been defeated there by Te Rau-paraha. About this time Te Uira, a great chief of Ngati-Mahutapu of Waikato, visited Aotea in order to indulge in fishing, and whilst there a man of Ngati-Toa named Te Huri-nui visited the place also, and was killed by Te Uira. The news of this murder caused great indignation to Te Rau-paraha, who, on learning that Te Uira was still there, left Kawhia with a war-party and preceeded by sea to Aotea in search of Te Uira. On finding him at the place named Mako-makohi Te Rau-paraha and his party attacked it and succeeded in killing Te Uira and also Te Ao-marama of Ngati-Te-Wehi (of Waikato) whilst Te Mohi and Te Tautara of Te Uira's party were saved by a Ngati-Toa woman named Te Patu, who was a sister of Tahuri-waka-nui of the same tribe and related to Ngati-Koata (*hapu* of Ngati-Toa), and Ngati-Hikairo of Kawhia. Te Mohi was allowed to escape, but Te Tautara was brought back to Kawhia, to the Ngati-Hikairo pa at Nga-toka-kai-riri, an island in Kawhia harbour, east side. Mr. Shannon says "Te Uira's body was taken to Te Rau-paraha's pa and there eaten. This was at Powewe (present town of Kawhia), so after the Waikato had finally expelled Ngati-Toa a few years later, this particular place was given to Te Uira's representatives (Te Hia-kai and others)."

"It was afterwards sold to one Cowell (father of Hone Kaora, murderer of whose evidence before the Land Court is herein incorporated), a man who assisted at the capture of Tama-i-hara-nui at Port Cooper about 1829 or 1830. The powder, tomahawks, etc., paid for this piece of land by Cowell, were distributed to those related to Te Uira as *pure* or 'cleansing,' for the death of that chief. Subsequently the land fell into the hands of one Charlton, Captain Fairchild's father-in-law, and the latter sold it to the Government." *

Hone Kaora, in his evidence before the court in relation to the events of this period, mentions an interesting fact with respect to the

* The original deed transferring this land from Kiwi and Porima to Mr. Joseph Vittoria Cowell is dated 11th January, 1840, though, no doubt, the purchase took place many years prior to that. The consideration was: one cask tobacco, forty spades, forty axes, eight casks of powder, ten pieces of print, ten pieces of handkerchiefs, forty iron pots, ten pair of blankets, six muskets, twenty cartons of boxes, twelve pairs of trousers, twelve frocks, twelve shirts, one thousand flints, one thousand pipes, two cedar chests, etc. This payment was for an estimated area of 20 thousand acres, which was reduced on Survey to forty-four acres! On the 23rd February, 1883, the Hon. William Rolleston, Minister of Lands, Hon. John Bryce, Native Minister, myself, and Mr. Frank Edgecombe, District Surveyor, landed at Powewe from the s.s. "Stella," she being the first vessel to enter Kawhia since the war. On that same day Mr. Edgecombe and I schemed out the present town of Kawhia, which he then proceeded to survey.

inland *pa* of Nga-toka-kai-riri. He says, "I will now explain the phrases, '*tukutuku puraho-rua*' and '*te ruru-rama*.' Some of Ngati-Mania-poto (of Waipa) and Ngati-Hikairo were living at Kawhia—indeed the home of the latter tribe is there. If a war-party were passing from inland to attack the people of Kawhia, those of Waipa would send a messenger to warn those of Kawhia. There is a track through the forest called Tihi-toetoe, that passes over the southern shoulder of Mount Pirongia.* No war-party was allowed to travel by this route because it was *tapu* to expeditions of that nature. Our expression is, '*Te ara tukutuku puraho-rua † kei Tihi-toetoe*'—('The road by which one related to both sides may pass is at Tihi-toetoe')—by which we learn that it was not *tapu* to the messenger who went to give the alarm, but was so to the war-parties, which illustrates a characteristic of Maori warfare often noticed—*i.e.*, that due notice was generally given of an intended attack. 'At Nga-toka-kai-riri island in Kawhia, on the arrival of the messenger, beacon fires would be lit (*ruru-rama*) warning all the *pas* of the district of the approach of an enemy. The messenger would light a big fire on one side of the *pa* (which was named Poroaki), and this could be seen by the Ngati-Toa *pas* at Te Whenua-po (a hill and old *pa* of Ngati-Toa, one thousand and eighty-nine feet above the sea, situated between the rivers Rakau-nui and Te Mahoe, three miles from the southern shores of Kawhia, on which is Trig Station A), Te Totara (another Ngati-Toa *pa* situated on the first point inside Kawhia Heads on the south side), and other *pas* in the district. All these *pas* were generally antagonistic to the Ngati-Hikairo at Nga-toka-kai-riri, but the advent of an outside enemy caused them all to become allies."

The death of a great chief like Te Uira, who was father of Te Tiakai (another great chief of Waikato, who, as we shall see, fell at the battle of Te Motu-nui in 1821—see Chapter XIV.), and others of the principal families of Waikato—and whose end was evidently brought about by Te Rau-paraha in a manner which the former's tribe looked upon as approaching the treacherous—could not be passed over without an attempt to exact *utu*. Te Wheoro says this was the third great *ke*, or cause, Waikato had against Kawhia, and consequently this powerful tribe decided that the latter people must be exterminated. It was the knowledge of this decision of Waikato—with other things—that first imbued Te Rau-paraha with the idea that Kawhia was no longer a safe place of residence for him and his tribe. Later on he

* Some time in the eighties of last century I attempted to cross over the ranges by this track from the town of Alexandra to Kawhia, but found it so overgrown that my Maori guide could not follow it, so I had to abandon my journey by that route.

† *Puraho-rua* has the same meaning as *Kai-ichakarua*—*i.e.*, one who is related to both sides.

expressed the thought of migrating to join Ngati-Rau-kawa in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, which people were closely connected with his own. Again, both Rotorua and Taranaki were thought of, but it was apparently not until he had joined Tu-whare in his southern expedition (1819-20—see Chapter XI.), and had then noticed the facilities offered by Kapiti Island as an anchorage for ships, from which he might obtain arms, that the decision was arrived at to migrate thither. But this was not for some years yet, and, in the meantime Waikato sent *taua* after *taua* to Kawhia in the hope of carrying out the tribal decision, many of which are described in Te Wheoro's and Hono Kaora's evidence, but are passed over here, excepting those that immediately affect Te Rau-paraha.

The first step taken by Waikato to avenge the death of Te Uira was to send forth a *taua* composed of *hapus* with which the slain man was connected, *viz.*: Ngati-Reko, Ngati-Rehu, Ngati-Mahuta, and Ngati-Mahanga, which attacked and took a *pa* on the south side of Aotea, named Horo-ure, where Rangi-potiki, a woman of high rank of Ngati-Mahanga,* together with Tokoua were killed.

This was followed by another *taua*, having the same object in view, which proceeded to the north shore of Kawhia and fought a battle with Ngati-Toa under Te Keunga, and Tarahape, at Po-wewe, the present site of Kawhia town, and defeated them. The *taua* then attacked and took the Motu-ngaio *pa*, overlooking the present township. The women and children of the *pa* fled to the water side and started to cross the sands; but Ahi-pania and Te Piē gave chase hoping to catch, and make slaves of them. In this they were frustrated by Te Whare-puhia and Taiko of Ngati-Toa, who turned upon the pursuers and killed them. This defeat was called Puta-karekare. Waikato now crossed the harbour to Te Totara, already referred to, which was one of the principal strongholds of the Ngati-Koata branch of Ngati-Toa; but apparently landed first on the long peninsula forming the south head of the harbour and here they suffered a defeat at the hands of Ngati-Toa. "It was during this fight," says Te Wheoro, "that Kiwi and Te Rau-angaang—father of the celebrated Te Wherowhero—were nearly killed. They escaped by jumping over a cliff. Waikato then fled to Maikahi (headland, forming the south entrance to Kawhia,) and whilst there they could see no sign of life at Te Totara *pa* (about a mile and a half away); so they sent two scouts named Kahu-ina and Taiko by canoe to reconnoitre, both of whom were caught by Ngati-Toa and killed.

Waikato seem to have had enough of fighting for the time; evidently Ngati-toa were getting the best of it, although they had lost the *pa* Motu-ngaio. So Waikato returned across the harbour and over the

* Probably married to one of Ngati-Toa's allies, for her own tribe formed part of the *taua*.

mountains to their homes on Waikato and Waipa rivers, but with the intention of returning.

Soon after, another element was introduced into this intertribal war, and for reasons not stated the great Ngati-Mania-poto tribe were drawn into the quarrel between the East and West Waikato tribes. Te Rangi-tuatea (of whom we shall hear a good deal later on) and Te Whaka-maru, both high chiefs of the tribe mentioned led forth a great *tau* to Kawhia, coming on as far as the Awaroa river, which falls into the harbour on its eastern side. Te Rau-paraha at this time was at Tutae-rere, where also were some of the Ngati-Pou tribe (? of Tua-kau Lower Waikato), staying here as guests—amongst them two men named Hau-rora and Hau-pare. Soon after the arrival of Ngati-Mania-poto at Awaroa, Te Rau-paraha met them in battle at a place named Ta-whitiwhiti, and defeated them heavily, killing Te Whakamaru—one of the leaders—whose head was taken away to Te Rau-paraha's *pa*, where, no doubt, it was put to the usual purpose and stuck up on a rod to be jeered at. During the fight, Te Rau-paraha aimed a blow at Te Rangi-tuatea, which was warded off by the weapon striking a branch, and thus the latter's life was saved. These two men were related in some distant way, hence Te Rangi-tuatea's subsequent action in helping Te Rau-paraha to escape to Kapiti, notwithstanding the latter's attempt on his life just related.

This defeat accounts in a large measure for the subsequent energetic pursuit of Te Rau-paraha by Ngati-Mania-poto, which we shall learn of at a later period.

The part that Ngati-Pou played in the above conflict is uncertain, but it is clear that they were inimical to Te Rau-paraha, though Te Wheoro says that some of them were then staying with Te Rau-paraha as his guest, a fact difficult of explanation after reading the account of Te Rau-paraha's attack on Ngati-Pou at Whaingaroa (Raglan) for which see *ante*.

On the return of this Ngati-Mania-poto *tau* to their homes, messengers were at once dispatched to Ngati-Pou, Ngati-Mahuta, Ngati-Hine and other sub-tribes of Waikato calling on them to assemble at Tu-korehu's *pa*, Manga-tootoa, on the Waipa river, for the purpose of attacking Ngati-Toa in their headquarters at Te Totara *pa*; at Manga-tootoa the Waikato *tau* was joined by Ngati-Apa-kura (now of Kawhia) and Ngati-Mania-poto, so that they numbered altogether sixteen hundred warriors. Te Rau-angaanga, father of Te Wherowhero, appears to have been in chief command. Crossing the ranges, the *tau* drew near to Hiku-parea *pa*, situated on the long peninsula at the east end of Kawhia, called Tiritiri-matangi. During the night two divisions were formed, eight hundred men in each, one of which went into ambush near the *pa* whilst the other division made a feigned attack on the *pa*.

This brought the garrison out, who, not knowing of the ambush, were surprised upon and badly beaten. This was followed up by the taking of the *pa* which was easily accomplished. A great chief named Te Kanawa (not the great Waikato chief of that name) who was chief of the *pa* was killed here, as was Te Haunga and others. The latter was killed by Mau-tara, who was a brother (? distant cousin) of Taka, father of Te Poa-kai (? of Ngati-Hikairo) who was chief of that district and closely related to Te Hia-kai.

Not satisfied with the above success it was decided by Te Kanawa and Pikia (of Waikato) to attack Te Totara *pa*, in revenge for the scouts killed by Ngati-Toa, as related a few pages back. On reaching the *pa*, Ngati-Toa came forth and gave battle to Waikato, but in the case Te Rau-paraha and his tribe suffered defeat, losing Hikihiki, Kiharoa, Tara-peke, and others. Tu-whatau (of Waikato) had a very narrow escape of capture by Te Rangi-haeata. "Tara-peke (of Ngati-Toa) was killed by Te Whare-ngori in view of all the people and without interference, as he was a relation of their people." * After this, both sides being satisfied for the time, Te Rau-paraha called on to Te Rau-angaanga, the leader of Waikato, to approach the *pa*, and on his doing so, a temporary peace was patched up and the Waikato party returned home.

But the turbulent spirit of Ngati-Toa was not satisfied. Hearing that Te Whare-ngori (referred to in the last paragraph) had gone to Whaingaroa, Te Rau-paraha and a party of Ngati-Koata (of Te Totara *pa*) put to sea in a canoe and went round to Whaingaroa where they found Te Whare-ngori, and killed him and others, besides taking some prisoners, who were carried back to Te Totara. It was one part of this *tau*, apparently, that made an attack on another branch of Waikato, Ngati-Tama-inu, † at Whaingaroa, where they killed Totoia, and at Manga-kowhai killed Po-wha and Karetu. This *tau* was under Te Whare-puhi and Taiko (of Te Totara *pa*).

This incident ruptured the peace made between Te Rau-angaanga (of Waikato) and Te Rau-paraha (of Ngati-Toa). And hence a further war-party was raised by Waikato, consisting of Ngati-Mahuta, Ngati-Ngahia, Ngati-Reke, Ngati-Mahanga, and Ngati-Tama-inu, who forthwith went over to Kawhia, and at a place named Toru found a party of Ngati-Toa that had just crossed over from Te Totara. Waikato attacked them at Te Waro (said to be near the present town of Kawhia) and killed Taiko and Te Whare-puhi (the leaders in the Ngati-Toa expedition to Whaingaroa), Te Manu-ki-tawhiti, and

* These notes are so defective in the names of the tribes to whom the people belonged that the narrative is frequently very difficult to make out. It was allowed, nay, proper, under certain circumstances, for one relative to kill another.

† See the origin of this *hapu* name, A.H.M., Vol. IV., p. 173.

Hahana, Te Pou-kura, and many others. The *tau*a then returned home.

RAPARAPA OF NGATI-TAMA.

We have already had occasion to refer to Raparapa, the warrior chief of the fighting Ngati-Tama of Pou-tama (south of Mokau).* He was a very daring man, whose exploits are still the pride of his tribe, and which is illustrated by the following incident in his career which led up to the great fight at Taharoa.

Unu-a-tahu was a member of that branch of Waikato named Ngati-Mahanga (now of Raglan). His sister married a man of the Ngati-Tama tribe of Te Kawau *pa*, Poutama District, near the White Cliffs, and on one occasion this man went on a visit to his sister at that place, where he found a party of Ngati-Raukawa staying with Raparapa. It would appear that in some of the intertribal fights between Waikato and Ngati-Raukawa—a tribe that was nearly related to Te Rau-paraha and which eventually cast in their fortunes with him at Kapiti—this man, Unu-a-tahu, had been present. Thinking this a good opportunity to wipe out an old score, his visitors suggested to Raparapa that the man should be killed. What arguments were used we know not, nor why Raparapa should take on himself the quarrels of others; but he consented to the request of his guests. The brother-in-law of Unu-a-tahu, however, learnt of the proposal, and therefore hurried the latter off before any action could be taken. Unu-a-tahu started on his way home, making for his own tribe, Ngati-Mahanga, who were then living in the Waipa valley.

Raparapa, as soon as he heard that the bird had flown, started off in pursuit, and on his arrival at Kawhia, found that Unu-a-tahu was at Nga-toka-kai-riri, the island *pa* already referred to. The people of the *pa* prepared food for the traveller, and then advised him to hasten his departure for fear he should be caught, for Ngati-Hikairo (the people of the *pa*) evidently knew that Raparapa was in chase of him, and that he was a man not likely to change his plans without very strong opposition. Unu-a-tahu replied to his hosts, "Who am I—Te Unu-a-tahu, that they pursue me?" It was night, and he was weary, so he decided to stop at the *pa* against the persuasions of the people. Raparapa, at that very time, was crossing Kawhia in chase of his prey, and on arrival at the *pa* found Unu-a-tahu there, and forthwith killed him. He then returned home to Te Kawau.

TE TAHAROA.

We now come to the series of incidents that were the immediate cause of Te Rau-paraha's migration to Kapiti.

Reference to the frequent alliances that existed from ancient times

* See Chapter XI.

between Ngati-Toa (of Kawhia), and both Ngati-Tama (of Pou-tama) and Ngati-Mutunga (of Urenui) has already been recorded; and the murder of Unu-a-tahu, by Raparapa, evidently was considered by Waikato as involving Ngati-Toa in the inevitable vengeance that the former tribe considered it necessary to take to square the credit and debtor account between these ancient enemies. There were other causes inducing to the same end: The death of the great chief Uira, of Waikato, at Te Rau-paraha's hands; the defeat of Ngati-Mania-poto at Ta-whitiwhiti, and other disasters were by no means forgotten by the tribes concerned, and who had suffered at Te Rau-paraha's hands. Moreover, Waikato had not as yet fully carried out their formal decision of exterminating the Kawhia tribes.

The death of Unu-a-tahu, by Raparapa, accentuated the determination of Waikato to complete their work, and for this purpose they undertook the war at Te Taharoa.

Te Taharoa is the northermost of a chain of small lakes situated four or five miles south of Kawhia, and is in the heart of the country then owned by Ngati-Toa, and around which they had many villages and fortified *pas*, some of which were named Te Kakara, Rangi-huri, Te Rako, Ara-raparapa, Te Kawau, and Tau-mata-kauae.

For the account of what follows, I am indebted to the notes of Major Te Wheoro, Hone Kaora, Rangi-pito, W. Taungatara, J. Shand, and others collected by myself. In the length of time that has elapsed since the events occurred, the recollection even by such splendid memories as were possessed by these old Maoris, is somewhat at fault, and consequently we have some uncertainty as to the precise order in which Te Taharoa should be placed with regard to the well ascertained date (1819-20) of Te Rau-paraha's and Te Whare's southern expedition. The evidence is conflicting; but on the whole it seems to point to this latter expedition having taken place first, and, therefore, Taharoa was probably about 1820 or early 1821. If this is right, then the next event in our narrative which should come in here is the expedition of Te Rau-paraha and Te Whare, which has already been described in Chapter XII., but it has been thought best to keep all these Kawhia incidents together.

So when Ngati-Mahanga heard of the murder of Unu-a-tahu, the chief Te Puna-toto was urgent that Waikato should avenge it. This was agreed to, and many of Waikato, including Ngati-Mahuta (Te Wherowhero's *hapu*), Te Patu-po, Ngati-Mahanga, and others assembled in great force to attack Ngati-Toa. This great *taua* was divided into two portions, one going by sea (probably from Whaingaroa), under the chiefs Te Kanawa, Kiwa, Te Hiakai, Te Awa-i-ta and others; the other by the Waipa valley, and thence over the rang-

to the coast. This last party was under Te Wherowhero, Te Tihi-rahī, Te Pae-waka, Hou (of Ngati-Apakura, now of Kawhia), Tu-korehu (of Ngati-Mania-poto), Te Au, Te Ake (of Ngati-Hikairo, also now of Kawhia), and many others. They were to proceed to the coast and attack Ngati-Rarua (of Ngati-Toa) of Wai-kawau *pa*, situated fourteen miles north of Mokau, in order to punish those people for a curse they had uttered against the great warrior Tu-korehu, as he and his people returned from some raid into the Ngati-Tama or other territory of Taranaki. Referring to this incident, Mr. Skinner says, "As Tu-korehu's *taua* journeyed northward along the coast, they had to pass under the *pa*, which was built on a high cliff jutting out into the sea, and it was only at low water that a passage round the base could be effected. As they passed underneath, one of the inmates of the *pa* (of the Ngati-Rarua *hapu* of Ngati-Toa) exclaimed, "Look at the steam rising from his bald head!" in allusion to Tu-korehu—a very stout, and presumably from this a bald-headed man. Now the mention of the head of a chief was a breach of the law, for the head was *tapu*, and never, therefore, mentioned; how much more insulting then to name it in this derisive manner, and on such a sacred personage as Tu-korehu. It was a deadly insult; and in revenge Wai-kawau *pa* was assaulted and taken, and all the inhabitants killed and eaten." *

This part of the *taua* went on to Wai-kawau, and sat down to besiege the place, where we will leave them for a time to follow the fortunes of the other branch of the expedition.

The second *taua* was composed of Ngati-Mahuta, Te Patu-po, Ngati-Mahanga, and others. Te Awa-i-taia was "the young chief" of the party. On arrival at Kawhia, by water, they proceeded overland to Taharoa where the bulk of Ngati-Toa had assembled under Te Rau-paraha; but the Ngati-Koata branch of that tribe remained in their *pas* at Kawhia, with the intention, should Waikato be defeated, of attacking them on their retreat, or, of taking Waikato in the rear. Major Te Wheoro says, "Whilst the *taua* were besieging Taumata-kauae *pa*, near Taharoa lake, a child of the enemy was caught, killed, and then served up to the *taua* with some fish. Te Puna-toto (apparently of Ngati-Pou, who had induced Waikato to engage in this undertaking) arose and stood over the food with a *ko* (or wooden spade, which is sharp-pointed like a paddle) in his hand. He was a *Tohunga*, or priest. He pierced the body of the child,

* Mr. Skinner places this incident after the defeat of Waikato at Te Motu-nui (see Chapter XIV.), but I think his informant probably had forgotten the exact occasion.

saying, 'Here I will stick this *ko*.' At these words all the fish raised themselves up (!), and thereupon he recited his *whakatapatapa** :—

Papa, papa te whatitiri
I runga i te rangi, etc., etc.

The child's body was then divided out to the *Tohunga* and the people. Te Rau-paraha was at this time within his *pa*—the battle had now commenced."

The *pa* at Tau-mata-kauae was taken, and then Te Kawau, situated (Mr. A. Wilson says) on a point projecting out into the lake. This is the place mentioned in Topeora's *kai-oraora* (see *ante*). After these two *pas* fell (or perhaps before, for the Native narrative is very obscure) came the battle of Te Kakara, which is (says Mr. A. Wilson) an old settlement situated to the north-west of Te Kawau. W. Taungatara says that before the battle Ngati-Toa were in their *pa* named Te Roto and saw the advancing host of Waikato, four thousand strong, with Ngati-Mania-poto, one thousand strong, coming to attack the place. Ngati-Toa, who had a few muskets given them by Tu-whare on his return to the north in 1820, sallied forth to meet this great force with only—as W. Taungatara says—three hundred men, composed partly of Ngati-Toa, Ngati-Koata, and Ngati-Rarua, under their various chiefs, of whom Te Rau-paraha, Te Pehi-kupe, Pokai-tara, and Te Rangi-haeata had guns. Immediately before the battle the famous Raparapa of Ngati-Tama had arrived on a visit to Te Rau-paraha—by himself, says Taungatara; accompanied by Ranginumania and some ten men from Onaero, says Rangipoto—and they were quite unaware that fighting was taking place. With characteristic valour Raparapa immediately insisted on joining in the fight though dissuaded from doing so by Te Akau, Te Rau-paraha's principal wife. She said, "*E Rapa! E Rapa! waiho ma te pu!*"—"O Rapa! let the guns decide it!"—for Raparapa had only a long-handled tomahawk as a weapon. But he was determined to join in the fight and was quite annoyed at the woman's interference, exclaiming, "*Ata! Nawai i ki ma te wahine au e ako!*"—"Aha! who says I am to be instructed by a woman!"

The opposing forces now approached, each side in companies according to their tribes. Te Rau-paraha's people, Ngati-Toa and Ngati-Rarua, were posted in two bodies awaiting the onslaught of the enemy, which advanced, and were met by volleys from Ngati-Toa, each shot—says Taungatara—knocking over a man. After a time, and whilst the opposing forces were squatting down watching one another

* *Whakatapatapa* usually means the act of naming some object after a part of one's self in order to *tapu* it and prevent others from taking it. But it appears to have a different meaning here. The lines of the *karakia* quoted are the opening ones of the *pihe* sung over the dead—see "Te Rou," p. 267.

Raparapa, who was impatient with that kind of fighting, dashed forth into the open space between the two forces, and with his long handled tomahawk felled one of the enemy with a right-handed blow, another with a left-handed blow. A Waikato warrior now advanced to meet him; Raparapa made a blow at him and buried his axe so deeply in his body that he could not extricate it quickly, so he seized the man by his belt and flung him over his shoulder—Raparapa was noted for his great strength, see an instance of this, Chap. XI.—and bore him off. Seeing him thus encumbered, Rota (or Kiwi)* of Waikato, rushed forth from the ranks, and catching Raparapa by his belt (about six inches wide and made of strong *muka*) took a grip of his naked body. Several more of Waikato now rushed out to assist their tribesman, and in the struggle that ensued, Raparapa tripped up in a pig-rooting and fell, where Kiwi, watching his chance, succeeded in giving him a blow that killed him. Thus perished the great *toa* of Ngati-Tama, no doubt, in the manner he would have most desired.

All this time the muskets were doing their work; but on seeing the fall of Raparapa, the two companies of Ngati-Toa sprang to their feet preparatory to a rush, which being observed by the Waikato chief Pungarehu (or Hone Papita as he was afterwards named) of Ngati-Hine-uru, he called out, "*Ara! He waewae tu!*" expressive of there being no force in reserve behind the two companies of Ngati-Toa. All Waikato thereupon made a rush forward, and by weight of numbers drove back Te Rau-paraha's people in confusion, each man trying his best to save himself. Waikato continued the chase close up to the *pa*, killing great numbers as they fled, amongst them Te Rau-paraha's elder brother. † Waikato now took Raparapa's body to their camp, where they cut him up (and no doubt ate him with great satisfaction, though our Maori narrators do not say so). It was a great triumph for Waikato to have killed so very noted a warrior. "Had Raparapa known in time of this expedition of Waikato, he would have brought up the fighting Ngati-Tama, when the result would have been different"—says Rangi-pito.

Those of Ngati-Koata who had remained in their *pas* on the shores of Kawhia with the intention of cutting Waikato off, should they be defeated, had by this time advanced to the assistance of Te Rau-paraha

* Hone Kaora's evidence states that it was Te Awa-i-taia who killed Raparapa. This is confirmed by Mr. Shand, who heard the same story from Mr. Edwards (a native assessor), who had heard the incident related by Te Awa-i-taia himself.

† Which of his brothers my informants do not say. The father of this family was Werawera and their mother Pare-kohatu; their children were (in order of seniority): 1, Te Rangi-katukua; 2, Waitohi (who married Te Ra-ka-herea and had Te Rangi-haeata and Tope-ora, the poetess); 3, Te Kiri-pae-ahi; 4, Mahurenga; 5, Te Rau-paraha.

whilst the battle was raging, but on seeing that the day was lost, they returned. Many of the others (Ngati-Rarua etc.) after the defeat fled south to their fellow tribesmen at Wai-kawau, several miles down the coast, and with them, says Te Wheoro, were some of Ngati-Tama and Ngati-Mutunga (of Poutama and Ure-nui).

The fall of these several *pas* and the loss of the battle of Te Kakara was a very serious blow to Ngati-Toa, in which they lost a great many warriors. As Wi Karewa says, "*Ka mate kino te iwi o Te Rau-parahi i konei; i patua i te ra, i te po, e Ngati-Pou*"—"the losses of the tribe of Te Rau-parahi here were very serious; by day and by night were they killed by Ngati-Pou." It was these losses that inspired the muse of Topeora when she composed the *Kai-oraora* given a few pages back. According to the same authority, Te Rangi-hokaia and Te Awa-i-tahi were the most prominent leaders of the Waikato *taua*.

After the battle of Te Kakara, the Ngati-Toa left their *pa* Te Rotomahana and retired to their stronghold, Te Arawi, a *pa* situated on the coast three miles south of Kawhia Heads, and two and a half miles eastward of Taunga-tara or Albatross Point. Mr. Andrew Wilson gives the following brief description of this stronghold. "It is situated on a point projecting into the sea, and is connected to the mainland by a narrow razor-back neck, and has cliffs all around it. On the north eastern side was an entrance to the *pa*, by means of a rope and steps cut in the rock, but it is so steep my informant thinks no one with boots on could make the ascent. The cliffs are all rock, in which pits have been cut out (for store houses), but there is no water on the point; off the *pa*, at sea, is a shark-fishing place."

WAI-KAWAU.

A few pages back it was stated that the great *taua* of Waikato had divided into two parties, the first of which under Te Hiakai and others fought Ngati-Toa at Taharoa, as described above, whilst the second proceeded by another route up the Waipa valley and then crossed the forest plateau to the Wai-kawau *pa*, situated on the coast fourteen miles north of the Mokau River. This place they proceeded to besiege, and whilst doing so a number of fugitives from the battle of Te Kakara arrived there and succeeded in making their way into the *pa*. These people were Ngati-Rarua (of Ngati-Toa) and others. During the night the besiegers heard the people of the *pa* lamenting the dead, and they therefore knew at once that the other *taua* had been successful, and that Ngati-Toa was defeated. So next morning the Waikato and Ngati-Maniapoto *taua* stormed Wai-kawau and took the place, killing all the inhabitants besides the fugitives, amongst whom were two chiefs, one of whom was slain by Tu-korehu, another by Te Au of Ngati-Hikairo, which tribe now for the first time joined in the war against Ngati-Toa, for generally they had supported the latter tribe in case of outside invasion. "It was," says Te Wheoro, "at these two fights, Te Kakara

and Wai-kawau, that many chiefs of Kawhia were killed. After this, the two *tauas*, one from Te Kakara, the other from Wai-kawau, returned to their homes." Thus Tu-korehu obtained revenge for the insult offered him by the people of Wai-kawau.

DEATH OF MARORE.

The death of Te Rau-paraha's first wife, Marore, is said to have occurred just after the former returned from his southern expedition with Tu-whare, or early in 1820, but whether before or after the fighting at Te Taharoa is uncertain, though probability seems to point to the latter date. It appears that Marore went from Kawhia to Waikato to attend a *tangi*, or crying, over some relative. Whilst there, Te Wherowhero, Te Kanawa, and Te Ika-tu (of Waikato) heard of her being in the district, and the former urged Te Rangi-moe-waka to kill her. This man, nothing loath, then murdered her. When Te Rau-paraha heard of this he said nothing but the death of one of the murderer's relatives could atone for this. A party was therefore sent out and Te Moerua (of Ngati-Mania-poto) was killed by Te Rako, and the murder thus avenged. This event (says Mr. Wilson) occurred at Kare-rauhaha, near Otorohanga, and the body was eaten at Kawatea.

Ngati-Mania-poto, to square this death, sent a party over to Maro-kopa river, where they killed Te Mahutu (of Ngati-Toa). Mr. Wilson adds, "My informant, Whiti-nui, says this was not a murder like the others, as Te Mahutu was killed in a small skirmish."

Te Rau-paraha's retaliation for this was the death of Te Ara-taua, a woman of note of Mokau.* Mr. Wilson says, "She was on the track outside the Ara-pae *pa* in company with a woman of Kawhia, named Niho, who was spared. At this time Te Whaingā (? of Ngati-Mania-poto) was just returning from the east coast, and hearing what had occurred did not go on to the *pa*, but at once went after the murderers and overtook them at a place named Te Rau-po, where he killed twenty of them in the night. Again, near Manga-o-hae, he overtook another party and killed Pekapeka. After this, Te Au-nui (of Arapae) went against Te Rau-paraha."

* It must be remembered that the Mokau people are practically members of the Ngati-Mania-poto tribe.

One of the Ngati-Toa women composed the following lament for Marore :—

E Hine ! e tangi kino e,
 E tangi aurere nei,
 Ko Te Wherowhero, ko Te Kanawa,
 Nana i unga mai,
 Ka eke nei taua,
 Te tihi ki Te Kawau,
 He maunga tu noa
 Kaore nei he mokorea tangata.
 Kei te amu au i te wai-takataka
 No Hari ranei ; no Hau-pokia.
 No Mama-uruahu,
 Whakaki tonu ake
 Ko Hihi, ko Te Whakaea,
 Ko taku kai reka nei, ko au, etc., etc.

O Lady ! in thy bitter grief,
 Thou cryest aloud in wailing tones,
 'Twas Te Wherowhero¹ and Te Kanawa,¹
 That instigated the foul deed,
 And also drove us to Te Kawau's² summit—
 A mountain now, with no sign of life.
 I would that I were chewing the brains
 Of Hari,³ perhaps, or of Hau-pokia,⁴
 Or even of Mama⁵-uruahu,
 And repleting myself by feasting on
 Hihi and Te Whakaea,
 These to me were sweet food indeed.

NOTES.—1. These two instigated the murder of Marore. 2. The *pa* taken at Taharoa.
 3. Hari, killed afterwards at Te Motu-nui. 4. A great chief of Kawhia. 5. Killed at Te
 Motu-nui.

TE ARAWI.

These various killings, no doubt, widened the breach between Waikato and Ngati-Toa, and it therefore causes no surprise when we learn that Ngati-Hikairo (of Waikato) and Ngati-Mania-poto raised a *taua* and proceeded to Kawhia to chastise Ngati-Toa. Moreover, news had been received that Te Rau-paraha and his tribe had again occupied their old settlements, one of which was the *pa* at Whenua-po already referred to. At this time Te Poa-kai* was chief of the latter *pa* together with Rae-herea and Rawaho, whilst at Te Arawi were Te Rau-paraha, Rangihaeata, with Matu (of Ngati-Koata).

The Waikato *taua* first went to Whenua-po and began an attack on the *pa*, "But," says Te Wheoro, "Te Hiakai was desirous to prevent bloodshed and asked the chiefs of the *pa* to come forth, together with the *hapu* Ngati-Te-Ra. When they did so Te Hiakai escorted them s

* Mr. A. Wilson says the Whenua-po *pa* was built by a great chief named Nga-Tira.

they should not be harmed by Waikato. Ngati-Te-Wehi (Waikato) pursued the party, and Te Moke, seeing a greenstone *heitiki* on Te Hiakai's neck, snatched it off, which *heitiki* I (Te Wheoro) now have. But these people, together with Ngati-Whanga, were led away by Te Hiakai and Muri-whenua."

What the attack on Whenua-po ended in is not related; but from there the *tau*a went on to Te Arawi with the intention of attacking that place. On their arrival Te Whakaete and Taki-waru of Waikato succeeded in killing two men of Ngati-Toa, named Arawaka and Whakatau-poki; and directly after an attack was made on the *pa*. Whilst this was going on Hau-tutu saw a man of the *pa* come outside whom he pursued but did not capture. On his return he found himself blocked on all sides and had to spring over the cliff to escape Te-Rangi-haeata. He landed on a rock and seriously injured his thigh, his blood staining the stone. When Te Rangi-haeata saw this he licked up the blood from the rock. Parakete is the name of the place where Hau-tutu jumped over. The circumstance is referred to in the song, "Mokai 'Haeta whakarauora," etc.

During the night the *pa* was surrounded (on the land side) and after dark Riki and Maru of Ngati-Te-Kore let a man down from the *pa* by a rope who wished to communicate with Taiawa, of Ngati-Mahanga (Waikato). At the interview Tai-awa arranged that they should escape, for they wished to leave the *pa* without the knowledge of the rest of the garrison. Te Kanawa (Waikato) at the same time arranged for the escape of Ngati-Tuiri-rangi (related to Ngati-Toa, though often their enemies—see Chap. IX.) In the morning Ngati-Toa within the *pa* discovered that the garrison was decreasing by desertion.

"During the progress of the siege," says Hone Kaora, "Waikato caught Taunga-wai, a younger brother of Te Rau-paraha, whilst Te Aka and Rua-tahora, two women, were also caught, but their lives spared. Werewera * was also killed by Ngati-Hikairo, which tribe, with Ngati-Mania-poto, were surrounding the *pa*. Te Rangi-tua-taka (Waikato) took the two women back to the *pa* and delivered them to their relatives," an action which no doubt facilitated the negotiations that followed for the evacuation of the *pa*.

Amongst the Ngati-Mania-poto who were thus pressing Te Rau-paraha and his people to extremity, was Te Rangi-tua-tea of that tribe, but who was also related to Te Rau-paraha, and hence he did not wish to see matters carried to the bitter end by his own people. He therefore watched his opportunity when the watch kept on the *pa* was

* Werawera was Te Rau-paraha's father, but it does not appear whether this was the same man. Te Aka is possibly Oriwia Te Aka, daughter of Tungia, and referred to in that stinging *Kai-oraora* to be found at p. 284 of Nga-Moteatea; where the incidents of this siege are described.

slacker than usual, and approached the fortifications in the night, and softly called to the sentries that he wanted to see Te Rau-paraha giving his name. On learning of this Te Rau-paraha descended to the beach where his friend was awaiting him, and there a consultation was held, ending in Te Rangi-tua-tea saying, "*Maunu! Haere!* withdraw and be off at once before you are attacked and it is too late. Go all that you can, and leave only such as are unable to travel; leave them to be made cinders (*kongakonga*) of. Go to Taranaki; to Te Ati-Awa, for safety." W. Taungatara, after relating much the same, says, "Rau-paraha replied that he thought it better to go to the Ngati-Raukawa tribe, who were his relatives (their home was at Munga-tautari, near Cambridge); but Te Rangi-tuatea said at once, "*E kore koe e pahure; engari me aha koe ki te pa-ngaio e tu mai ra, ka ora koe!*"—"You will not be able to pass (the Waikato tribe), but turn towards the *pa-ngaio* there and you will be saved"—the *pa-ngaio* being the Ati-awa tribe.) Te Rau-paraha then asked, "When shall we go?" "This very night; do not delay;" W. Taungatara says that they left that same night; but it is probable Major Te Wheoro is right in saying that Te Rau-paraha possibly thinking there would be a difficulty in thus escaping without the help of—at least one part of—Waikato, summoned Te Hiakai to a conference, which took place within the *pa*. During this interview Te Hiakai agreed that he would restrain his people and allow Te Rau-paraha to depart in peace on his way south. Te Rau-paraha, turning towards Kawhia, said to Te Hiakai, "Behold your land! Do not follow me to the south!" It would have been well for Te Hiakai if he had taken this advice; but he did not, and consequently lost his life at the battle of Te Motu-nui, as we shall see in Chapter XIV.

It appears that Te Rangi-tua-tea, in pursuance of his friendship for Te Rau-paraha and his desire that Ngati-Toa should get away, persuaded most of the besieging force to leave the neighbourhood of the *pa* and go a-fishing—probably in Kawhia Harbour. Evidently Te Hiakai and he were now acting in unison, for Te Wheoro says, on the return of Te Hiakai from the *pa*, he and Ngati-Mahuta took great care that Waikato should not pursue Ngati-Toa. He adds, "Many of the garrison went by canoe with Te Rau-paraha, Te Rangi-haeata, and Te Kaka-kura, whilst others went by land" (see next Chapter). It was not the whole of Ngati-Toa that left, for some remained and became, as Te Wheoro says, slaves—rather would they be *rahi*, or vassals to the conquerors.

Te Rangi-tua-tea, in thus assisting Ngati-Toa, was secretly rejoiced at the discomfiture of Waikato, but evidently was not a believer in the doctrine that "virtue is its own reward," for "immediately on the abandonment of Kawhia," says Mr. Shand

* From Mr. Shand.

‘he, with all his people, at once took possession of part of Kawhia and instantly set to work to entrench himself in order to prevent Waikato claiming the place. He fortified a *pa* named Te Kawau (that at Taharoa), where he left a guard of his own people, and then returned to Waipa and brought over four hundred of the Ngati-Raukawa (? Ngati-Mania-poto) to assist in holding the place.”

THE FIRST SHIPS AT KAWHIA.

Before passing on to the further doings of Ngati-Toa, which are most intimately connected with those of our Taranaki tribes, I will summarize from the evidence of Major Te Wheoro and Hone Kaora, some information given by them as to the visit of the first ships to Kawhia.

First, I may say that on the 3rd November, 1894, Mr. Elsdon Best and I visited an old Ngati-Toa warrior named Te Paki, then living at Takapuahia, a place at the southern end of Porirua Harbour (named after Takapuahia, a mile and-a-half seaward of Kawhia township). This old man came down from Kawhia with Te Rau-paraha in 1821-22, at which time he was old enough to walk most of the way. He told us that up to the time of their leaving Kawhia no ships had visited the place, but they had been seen passing along outside, and were supposed by the natives to be manned by gods—*waraki*, or *retireti*, gods of the deep sea. Both these words are interesting; *waraki* was one of the first names given to Europeans as “gods of the sea.” The name raises a very big question which cannot be discussed here: Who were the originals of the *waraki*, gods of the sea and white in colour, known to Maori tradition? *Reti*, or *Retireti*, is what may be termed an obsolete word for *waka*, a canoe, but used nowadays very rarely and then only in poetry. The suggestion is, that the word was originally used to denote a vessel of a different class to the Polynesian canoe. *Reti* has another meaning, for a kind of sleigh or toboggan used in a game, like the *Holua* game of Hawaii.

The following is from Major Te Wheoro’s evidence. After describing the peace made with Nga-Puhi subsequent to the fall of Matakītaki in May, 1822, and the occupation of Kawhia by Waikato, he says, “When Nga-Puhi returned, peace was made, and at that time some of my female relatives were left at Matakītaki, *viz*: Pare-rohu and Ra-huru for that purpose. This peace was confirmed afterwards, Te Whakaete (of Waikato) was brought here, and Toha Matire-toha, daughter of Rewa, of Nga-Puhi) was brought as security for peace, by Turi-ka-tuku (Hongi’s wife). Toha married Kati, brother of Te Wherowhero.” Now, the Nga-Puhi returned to their homes at the Bay of Islands in August or September, 1823, after having cemented this peace, together with several Waikato

chiefs.* Te Wheoro proceeds: "After the return of Te Whakaet (from the Bay, which occurred early in 1824 *) Te Puaha went on visit to Nga-Puhi. When he returned he brought back with him 'Hamu-kete,' a Pakeha; they came back in the latter's vessel to Kawhia, to Heahea, at the entrance." Hone Kaora says, "The first ship that sailed into Kawhia was about this time (*i.e.*, the death of Pomare, which occurred in June or July, 1826 †), 'Hamu-kete' was the captain, he brought muskets and powder to trade for flax. "Hamu-kete" is believed to be Captain Kent. From the evidence given above, we may assume that he entered Kawhia some time between 1824 and 1826, though it is usually stated that 1829 was the date of his first visit to that harbour. "The people asked the captain to obtain more arms for them, so he made a trip to Sydney, and on his return brought back the following Pakehas:—'Te Kaorara' (J. V. Cowell), 'Te Kawana,' 'Te Rangi-tera,' and 'Tamete.' These different Pakehas were appropriated by various chiefs, who settled them as follows:—'Hamu-kete' was taken by Te Wherowhero, and settled at Heahea (near Kawhia Heads, north side); Te Tuhi took 'Te Rangi-tera' and settled him also at Heahea; Kiwi took 'Te Kaorara' and settled him at Powewe (Kawhia township); Te Kanawa took 'Tamete' and settled him at Maketu (near the above); 'Hamu-kete' married Tiria, Te Wherowhero's daughter; 'Te Rangi-tera' married Heihei, Te Tuhi's daughter, and 'Tamete' married Rangiatea niece of Te Kanawa." Who the other Pakehas were beyond Captain Kent and Cowell, I do not know. They would be appropriated by these various chiefs in order that they might, through them, obtain arms, etc., and with whom to barter their flax.

Captain Kent is buried at a place named Te Toro, a point of land that projects into the Waiuku Channel of Manukau Harbour, just opposite to the embouchure of the Mauku Channel, where I saw the grave in 1863. The Rev. James Hamlin, in his Journal (MS. in the possession of Dr. Hocken of Dunedin) says, under date 1st January 1837, "Captain Kent died at Kahawai, Manukau; 3rd, was interred at Kahawai in a sacred place. He lived for many years at Ngarua wahia, the junction of the Waikato and Waipa rivers, where he employed himself in trading with the natives."

* "Wars of The Nineteenth Century," p. 117.

† *Loc cit*, p. 185.

CHAPTER XIV.

TE HEKE TAHUTAHU-AHI MIGRATION.

September, 1821.

THE above is the name given to the migration of Ngati-Toa from Kawhia on their way to Cook's Straits; but this name only applies to that part of their long journey from Kawhia as far as Ure-nui—the journey onward from there to Otaki being named "Te Heke-tataramoa," from the troubles encountered on the way. There are many migrations we shall have to deal with in the course of this narrative, to each one of which have the Maoris given a distinguishing name—wisely so, for they serve as land-marks in their history. The above-named means, the "fire-lighting migration," but why so called I have forgotten, unless it was from the fire-lighting alluded to below.

As already described, Ngati-Toa fled by night from their *pa* at Te Arawi, and men, women, and children assembled on the hill at Moe-a-toa* (? Kamaru) where the signal arranged for by Te Rangi-tua-tea was made. A high column of smoke rising in the clear atmosphere of the morning denoted that Ngati-Toa were safely on their road. At Kawhia, amongst the Waikato *taua*, when they saw no sign of life in the *pa* at Te Arawi, they enquired amongst themselves as to what had become of the inhabitants. Te Rangi-tua-tea, overhearing the remarks, replied, with a grin that denoted his secret delight, "*E! e ka mai te ahi o to koutou koroua ki runga ki Moe-a-toa.*" "A! Behold the fire of your old man burning on the summit of Moe-a-toa!"—and consequently beyond immediate pursuit.

There were assembled on the top of Moe-a-toa (or Kamaru) over which the path to the south lay, the whole of the people under the power and direction of Te Rau-paraha, comprised in the three tribes Ngati-Toa, Ngati-Rarua, Ngati-Koata, and the *hapus* named Ngati-Haumia, Te Kiri-wera, Ngati-Hangai and others—all related, and all equally compromised in the deeds of bloodshed that had caused Waikato to rise in their wrath with the intention of punishing Te Rau-paraha and these tribes for their evil deeds. No reliable estimate of their numbers has ever been stated, but as Te Rau-paraha led four hundred warriors in the expedition to the south with Tu-whare, and

* Some of my accounts say Tapiri-moko, some Moe-a-toa, both of which are high hills; but I believe neither is right. The hill at Kamaru is probably the one where Ngati-Toa looked for the last time on Kawhia.

as the old people, women and children were now with the party, they could not have numbered less than 1,500 souls. His son, in his narrative* (which is very deficient generally) says there were four hundred people besides the after guard of three hundred and forty warriors, but this is surely too few from what we know of their descendants. Of individuals the following chiefs are known to have taken part in this great migration:—

Te Rau-paraha	Te Rangi-haeata	Te Tahua-o-Rehua
Te Poa	Te Hiko-o-te-rangi	Te Hua
Te Pehi-kupe	Noho-rua	Te Teke
Tungia	Te Ara-tangata	Te Whetu
Te Rangi-hi-roa	Puaha (Rawiri)	Te Tahua-o-te-koto
Te Waka-ketua	Te Mako	Te Whiwhi (Matene)
Tama-i-hengia (Hohepa)	Te Paki	Te Pani

But no doubt there were many others. Of the chief women were Topeora (whose marriage with Te Ra-tu-tonu at the siege of Tapui-nikan has been described), Akau (of the Tu-hou-rangi tribe of Tara-wera lake), Te Rau-paraha's wife, and Tiaia Te Pehi's wife, who was from the Tainui tribe of Raglan.

Most of these men would be veteran warriors who had accompanied the Ngati-Toa expeditions to Taranaki and Wai-rarapa, and had been engaged in the fighting round Kawhia before the *heke* left. Lucky it was for them that they were experienced warriors and men of determination, not likely to be deterred in their enterprise by difficulties on the way, of which, as we shall see, they had an abundant share.

The Maori is a true home-lover, and hence we may imagine what a wrench it must have been to these people to leave the bright waters of Kawhia, with its undulating hills and projecting promontories, each corner associated in some form or other with the deeds of their ancestors. At their feet lay the Taharoa lakes, on the shores of which they had so lately striven in vain against the might of Waikato. Beyond, the blue waters of Kawhia harbour, still visible from their resting place, to them the one most sacred spot in all New Zealand where the ocean-battered canoe of their great ancestor Hotu-roa had finally landed its crew after the long voyage from Hawaiki. Even the very spot where stand the two stone pillars that mark the length of "Tai-nui" could be seen from there. No wonder that the people wept over and lamented their beloved Kawhia, saying—"Remain, O Kawhia! lie thee there! for Kawhia's people are gone to the south to Kapiti." Or, that Te Rau-paraha himself, the man of iron, should

* Ancient History of the Maori, Vol. VI., p. 17.

burst forth in a wailing lament as he looked for the last time on the home of his childhood. This was his song:—

Tera ia nga tai o Honi-paka,
Ka wehe koe i a au—e.
He whakamaunga atu naku,
Te ao ka rere mai
No runga mai o te motu
E tu noa mai ra koe ki au—e
Kia mihi mamao atu au,
Ki te iwi ra ia.

E pari, e te tai, piki tu, piki rere,
Piki takina mai
Te kawa i Muri-whenua
Te kawa i tu tere

Tena taku manu he manu ka onga noa
Huna ki te whare, te Hau-o-Matariki

Ma te Whare-porutu—
Ma te rahi Ati-Awa
E kau tere mai ra,
Ka urupa taku aroha.

There lie below the seas of Honi-paka¹
Parted from me now for ever.
My gaze in longing, lingering glance,
Follows the fleecy cloud that hither drifts
Across the forest groves there scattered,
Bringing, as it were, a message from my
home.

Let me here bid sad farewell in parting,
To the loved ones of our tribe of ancient
days.

Flow on, ye tides, in rising fleeting waves,
Flowing onward, drawing with them—
Urged by breezes from far Muri-whenua²
By death's decree and sacred ritual
(The spirits of our beloved dead)

My bird that sings at early dawn,
Now hidden in the house, Hau-o-Mata-
riki.³

In future shall it be for Whare-porutu
And the might of Ati-Awa tribe
To assist us with their many arms,
And thus my love shall cease.

NOTES.—1 Honipaka, a beach at Kawhia. 2 Muri-whenua, the North Cape, to which departed spirits went. 3 Apparently refers to some beloved child, possibly his murdered wife Marore, or relative, left behind in the graveyard. 4 Whare-porutu, is not known, but possibly some relative amongst the Ati-Awa, whose influence the composer counted on to obtain Ati-Awa's assistance.

Another *waiata*, or song, has been preserved, in which Po-nehu laments their beloved home at Kawhia:—

Ra te ao-uru ka tauhere,
Te hiwi ki te Hikonga
Homai kia mihia,
I hara mai i oku hoa—e—

Naku rawa i huri atu
Ki te tai-whanga ki a Te Wherowhero,
Nana i unga mai,
Ka noho au te puke ki Kamaru,
Nui Te 'Paraha i te whenua,
He manu ka pi-rere

Ka puihi tonu atu ki te tai-uru,
Ki a Tamai-rangi—e—
Eae a wairua te motu-huia.
O Tara-rua i runga,
Ki Wai-rarapa e, ki Te Tai-tapu,
Ki a Te Ahuru—e—

Behold the western clouds that hang
On the ridge of hills at Te Hikonga.¹
Here let me weep and greet them,
For they come from the home of my loved
ones,

Now I turn me in sorrow deep
To the country of Te Wherowhero.³
'Twas he that sent his power against us,
And drove us to this hill at Kamaru.²
Great in the land was the fame of Te
Rau-paraha,

But now, like unto a fledgeling bird,
homeless;

Forced to the tides of the west to flee—
To the country of famed Tamai-rangi.⁴
In spirit do I visit the groves of the *huia*,⁵
On Tara-rua, those mountains of the south,
Perhaps to Wai-rarapa, or Te Tai-tapu,⁶
To the land of Te Ahuru.

Kia noho taku iti
Ki te kei o te waka,
Nou na, E Te Pehi e !

Then let my humble self be seated
In the stern of the war canoe,
Belonging to thee, O Te Pehi !⁷

NOTES.—1 and 2, places at Kawhia. 3 Te Wherowhero, principal chief of Waikato, who led the army against Ngati-Toa and thus caused their migration. 4 Tamai-rangi, the great chieftain of Ngati-Ira of Port Nicholson, whither the migration was going. 5 The *huia* bird, so valued by the Maoris for its tail feathers, is only found in any number on Tararua mountains—now alas ! (1891) almost extinct. 6 Te Tai-tapu, general name for Massacre Bay, South Island. 7 Te Pehi-kupe, Ngati-Toa, who went to England in 1826 to procure arms for his tribe.

From the place of their farewell to Kawhia (? at Kamaru) the whole party passed on to Maro-kopa river, some twelve miles south of Kawhia. Heavily laden as all must have been with the household goods, clothing, etc., that they were able to bring away, this was a good day's march. The burdens would fall mostly on the women and slaves, for this was always the way with the Maoris, and it is astonishing the weight that they will carry for a long day's journey. At Maro-kopa the party was amongst friends and relatives. Tauranga-rua was the name of the village and Te Haumuti (subsequent baptismal name, Wetini Paki, kohatu), the name of the chief of Ngati-Kinohaku tribe, where they stayed. Here it was decided that many of the women and children should remain for a time until the elders had arranged with the Ati-Awa about the passage through their territories. And, moreover, it was known that a party of Ngati-Mania-poto had gone by inland tracks to try and intercept Te Rau-paraha on his way, and it was this party, I believe, who fought the battle of Pārā-rewa at Awakino (to be referred to later on).

Some time, either before leaving Kawhia or at Maro-kopa, Te Rau-paraha was joined by some of the Ngati-Ranga-tahi, then Ohura, Upper Whanganui, but formerly of Orahiri, Waikato, and Parata, who left Ohura, where they were living under the guardianship of Ngati-Hāua of Upper Whanganui, in consequence of a family quarrel. There were not many of these people. They went on eventually, to Kapiti with Te Rau-paraha.

After leaving the women at Maro-kopa, the main body passed on south to Mokau, staying a night at Wai-kawau, a stream just fourteen miles north of Mokau, and which was the scene of the defeat of Ngati-Rarua, described in last chapter. Whilst here, the party was joined by Te Rangi-tua-tea, who had given the advice to Te Rau-paraha to abandon his *pa* at Te Arawi and flee. This man was connected both with Ngati-Toa and Ngati-Mania-poto, and so was friendly with both, though he took part in the latter's campaign against Ngati-Toa at Kawhia. He came to warn Te Rau-paraha that the forces of Ngati-Mania-poto had decided to follow him up and kill him if they could. Te Rau-paraha, bearing in mind their losses at Taharoa and of the late fights at Kawhia, and having the old man in his power

with characteristic treachery, proposed to slay him. But Tiaia,* wife of Te Pehi-kupe, strongly objected to this course, and, moreover, the tribe were against it, so, thanks to her action, Te Rangi-tua-tea was saved.

Crossing the Mokau river, a canoe capsized and Te Rangi-haeata's only child was drowned, whilst Topeora and others had a very narrow escape. On the south side of Mokau the migration were received in a friendly manner by Ngati-Tama, who were then mourning their losses at Pārā-rewa, but a large number of the plucky tribe were away under Haringa-kuri seeking some satisfaction for Pārā-rewa, as we shall see later on. From Poutama the migration passed on, some of Ngati-Mutunga having come to meet them at that country and from there the migration passed on to Te Kaweka, a place near Okoki *pa*, two miles north of Urenui river. Here arrangements were made with the Ngati-Mutunga tribe of those parts for the old people and most of the warriors to remain and commence the cultivation of crops to serve the party on their further journey. It appears that Ngati-Mutunga were at first not very hospitable, nor did they receive these unbidden guests in a very friendly manner. But, no doubt, they did not care to quarrel with so large a party of tried veterans, many of whom were armed with muskets, of which Ngati-Mutunga had none. In the end, however, their feelings changed, and it is little doubtful that Te Rau-paraha's success at the battle of Te Motu-nui and subsequent settlement at Kapiti was largely due to the aid rendered by Ngati-Mutunga.

After settling down his people at Te Kaweka and remaining there a few days, Te Rau-paraha started back for Maro-kopa with only twenty men (it is said), but all tried veterans armed with muskets, for the purpose of bringing on the women and young children left there under the Puaha's care. His tribe, the Ngati-Toa, were much afraid his party was too small, for it was known that Ngati-Mania-poto were somewhere in the Mokau country in search of Te Rau-paraha, and they wanted to send a strong force with him. But he decided that a small party would be better able to elude the enemy, and so started with this small number.

The party reached Maro-kopa without trouble, notwithstanding that Ngati-Mania-poto had come over the ranges and were prowling about the country everywhere, and found all well with those left there. His wife, Te Akau, had, during his absence, born him a son, who

* Tiaia was of the Tai-nui *hapu*, or tribe, of Waikato, whose home is at Raglan. He was Te Pehi's first wife, and when that man took a second wife, Purewa, this latter lady made disparaging remarks about Tiaia. This induced Hoki, Tiaia's cousin, to compose a song exalting the latter and disparaging Purewa, which is very amusing and illustrates the kind of poetry that was popular amongst the Maoris of that age—see “Nga Moteatea,” page 192.

afterwards received the name of Tamihana Te Rau-paraha. The party only stayed at Maro-kopa a few days and then started off back for Kaweka. Te Karihana Whakataki of Porirua says,* "The party came along the coast, Te Rau-paraha carrying his little son in a basket on his back, and carefully taking precautions against being seen." Waterhouse says, "Prior to the departure of Te Rau-paraha from Maro-kopa, they had acquired a good many of the red garments referred to below. Some of these they divided up so that each person wore a broad band across the chest. He had also taken the precaution to spread a report for the benefit of Ngati-Mania-poto that a large party of Nga-Puhi were hastening down the coast all dressed in red and armed with muskets. As Ngati-Toa came down the coast they reached a place where a descent had to be made to the beach, and where the whole party, with their red garments, could be seen a long way off. At the other end of the beach was a large party of Ngati-Mania-poto, who, as soon as they caught sight of the red glowing in the sunlight, said, '*Koia ano! he tika korerero!*'—('Truly it is so! the story is correct!') and at once the whole departed inland, leaving the way open for Te Rau-paraha. Te Karihana continues: "At the approach of night (? of the second or third) the party reached the banks of the Awa-kino river, where they were again seen by another party of Ngati-Mania-poto which was one hundred strong, under their chief Tu-takaro. The Ngati-Mania-poto now made an attack on Ngati-Toa at dusk, when a fierce fight took place, in which Ngati-Toa lost two of their men; but in revenge Te Rau-paraha and Te Rangi-hounga-riri managed to kill Tu-takaro, the leader of the enemy, besides four others. As Tu-takaro lay wounded on the ground he recognised Te Rangi-hounga-riri, and said, '*Huana na Nga-Puhi au i patu. Kaore! ko koe, E Rangi!*'—('I thought I had been stricken down by Nga-Puhi! But now I see it is thee, O Rangi!') The small party of Ngati-Toa had the advantage of possessing muskets. The fight took place at Hukarere, or, as another account says, Purapura."† Ngati-Rakei of Mokau were engaged in this fight, as my informant, Rihari of Mokau, says Te Rau-paraha punished them for it afterwards.

"Next day, Te Rau-paraha reached the Mokau river, where, the tide being high, they could not cross, and so camped there on the beach. They were apprehensive that Ngati-Mania-poto would renew the attack after having discovered how few Ngati-Toa were in number. So large fires were lit in several places, and all the women dressed up like men.

* Told to Mr. E. Best, 1895.

† Mr. Skinner suggests that Hukarere is the place where the fight occurred. It is situated about a mile north of the mouth of Awa-kino. Purapura is half way between Mokau and Awa-kino, and may have been Ngati-Toa's camp the night.

Whilst Te Rau-paraha and the other men kept addressing warlike speeches to each party round the fires so that, should the enemy be near, they might think a large war-party was assembled there. Te Akau, Te Rau-paraha's wife, and Tiaia, Pehi-kupe's wife, were the principal women there, and they employed themselves in running backwards and forwards all night addressing imaginary bands of warriors. Many of these women were dressed in a European garment called a *tu-ngaro*, which is never seen now, but was not uncommon fifty or sixty years ago. It was composed of exceedingly thick serge and reached from the neck to the knee; it was of a brilliant red colour. These had been obtained by barter with other tribes, for up to the time of the migration leaving Kawhia no vessel had entered that harbour."

This ruse was successful, for no attack was made; and the next day the party proceeded on their way and reached the other members of the migration at Te Kaweka in safety. Arrived there, and on the news of the death of Tu-takaro reaching Ati-Awa, Ngati-Tama, and Ngati-Mutunga, there was great rejoicing, because that chief had been lately instrumental in defeating Ngati-Tama at Pāra-rewa. They were so elated that a party of them at once started off for Mokau, where they came across some of Ngati-Rakei of that place, killing several of them, and thus, as old Rihari says, 'punishing them for attacking Ngati-Toa.'"

It was after this event, that the Ngati-Mutunga began to show signs of a more amicable disposition towards Ngati-Toa, and assigned them places for cultivating, and a *pa* called Puke-whakamaru to dwell in, which *pa* is that on the west side of the Ure-nui river inland of Okoki *pa*. Here Ngati-Toa remained some time, but not long, when news came of the advance of a very large party of Waikato and Ngati-Mania-poto in order to chastise Te Rau-paraha for his evil deeds towards those tribes as already related, and also to try and raise the siege of Puke-rangiora, where many of their tribesmen were hooped up, as we shall see.

But before describing the great battle of Te Motu-nui which ensued, we must hark back for a time to describe that of Pāra-rewa, which had already occurred before Te Rau-paraha reached Te Kaweka.

PARA-REWA.

? September, 1821.

For what follows I am indebted principally to a MS. of Wetene Taunga-tara's, and an account dictated to Mr. A. Shand and myself by Rangipito—both old men of Te Ati-Awa tribe.

It will be remembered that Ngati-Tama of Pou-tama had suffered a very severe defeat at Tihi-manuka towards the end of 1819

(see Chapter XII.) in which they lost their old chief Te Kawa-rangi and a great many others, so many that the tribe was considerably reduced in fighting strength. They had also lost heavily in the fight at Nga-tai-pari-rua in 1815, where Ngati-Rakei, of Mokau, had succeeded after many generations of trial in inflicting a serious defeat on the brave little tribe of Pou-tama.

The Ngati-Mutunga tribe of Ure-nui are intimately connected with Ngati-Tama, whose boundaries marched with theirs on the north. Naturally, the former tribe felt the defeat at Tihi-manuka almost as much as did Ngati-Tama themselves. Hence we find Ngati-Mutunga raising a *taua* under Koropeke, Tu-kawe-riri and Te Whao, to assist Ngati-Tama to obtain revenge for Tihi-manuka. The branches of Ngati-Mutunga concerned in this affair were Te Kekeriwai of Mimi, Kai-tangata and Ngati-Tu *hapus* of Onaero, besides members of the Ati-Awa to the south of them. Koropeke does not appear to have been a chief of great rank, and he was an old man. At Te Kawa the *taua* was joined by the celebrated Tupoki, and all the men of Ngati-Tama that could be raised, so that the whole party numbered all told, four hundred warriors.

The news of a large party of Ngati-Mania-poto being in the neighbourhood of Mokau had reached the allies before they started. This *taua* of Ati-Awa first went to inland Mokau, but they found no one there, so they came back on their way to Awakino, where it was reported Ngati-Mania-poto were to be found. Arrived at the north bank of that river, near where it makes its great bend to the south before falling into the sea, the *taua* formed their camp. In the meantime Ngati-Mania-poto had received news of this Ati-Awa *taua*, and came after them, finding them camped as above. The former tribe is said to have been in possession of a great many guns, while the *taua* of Ati-Awa had very few—indeed Ngati-Tama only had one. The allies were soon aware of the proximity of the foe, but did not take sufficient precautions to prevent a surprise, for the forces of Ngati-Mania-poto attacked them in their camp, being led, as Rangi-pipi says, by Tu-korehu (but this can scarcely be, for he was away with the “Amio-whenua” expedition at the time), Hau-auru, Mama, Ngati-Rora (of Upper Mokau), and also assisted by contingents of Ngati-Haua (Upper Thames) and Ngati-Paoa (of Hauraki Gulf). In this assault the Ngati-Tama chief Tu-poki was shot by Hau-auru and two other prominent chiefs, Tu-kawe-riri, his wife Te Waero, and Te Whao were also killed, whilst the originator of the *taua*, old Koropeke escaped with the rest by flight. All the young men of the *taua* are said to have been slain that day in the attack, and in the subsequent pursuit. This was a disastrous defeat for Ngati-Tama, for besides many others they lost their great *toa*, or warrior, Tu-poki, and a few months after the death of his valorous brother Rapapapa, at the battle of Taharoa. From this time forth they practically ceased

old their ancestral lands, and shortly after migrated to Wai-kanae near Kapiti—the new weapon, the musket, was too much for them.

As the allies retreated in all haste towards their homes, they were met on the road by a large force of Ati-Awa, who had been aroused by the news of the approaching *tauu* of Ngati-Mania-poto, and which numbered one thousand warriors. After the junction of the two *tauas* some marauding parties were sent out to meet Ngati-Mania-poto, which managed to kill a chief of that tribe named Tautu-o-te-rangi. After this the whole party of Ati-Awa returned to their homes, and immediately after their arrival Te Rau-paraha and his first party of migrants reached Te Kaweka. It was, no doubt, the same party of Ngati-Mania-poto, or a company of it, that Te Rau-paraha had had the rush with at Awa-kino, and it is also certain that this was part of the great *tauu* that was in pursuit of that wily chief with the intention of demolishing him and his people and at the same time succouring their fellow tribesmen in Puke-rangiora; with what result we shall shortly see.

Thus died Ngati-Tama's great warrior, Tu-poki, who fell by the laden bullet supplied to his enemies by the incoming Pakeha. Had the fight of Pārā-rewa occurred a few years previously, when none but the Maori weapons were in use, it is probably the result would have been different, for Tu-poki was a master of the art of fighting with such arms. On his death, his sister, Te Maro-pounamu, lamented him in the following *tangi*, which is still a favourite with the Maoris:—

Tera ia te po taua
 Te taka mai nei i Pari-ninihi,
 Nau tē tatari, kia maunu mai,
 Te wai i runga i Nga-Motu,
 Kei to tamaiti, ma Rau-o-Matuku
 Hei putiki mai te ua o te pakanga,
 E tauira mai ra te hiku o te taua.
 Pairangitia mai o kahu angiangi—
 Pairangitia mai i te puke ki Whare-kohu,
 Ka nui ou tohu ki runga ki tou rangi,
 Ka rere nga whetu o te ata,
 Manu whakarewaia kia whakakau au,
 I te riri whatiwhati
 I roto o Pārā-rewa.
 Kei pehia koe te ahi o te tipua;
 Tenei Poutu, nau i here mai,
 Hei whakatu mai
 Te whare i muri ake,
 Kauraka e koaia e te rahi 'Ati-Tama.
 Me tuku ki raro, mo Tautari ma,
 Mo te wai-aruhe e tānga tonu nei,
 Tahurihuri ai i te papa i Raro-taka.

E kore, E Tama ra ! e tahuri to rakau toa,
 I ngaua putia e te ipo wahine,
 Ka whati i reira te puhi o taku waka ;
 He tumu herenga waka,
 No runga, no raro, no Te Rau-paraha, e !
 Hurihuri kau ai te mokai o te wahine,
 Taku kiri whakaniko,
 Te kiri o Awa-nui
 Ka whara kei muri.
 Ma te hau takaha e turaki.
 Taku rata tiketike—
 Taku whakaruru totara
 E tu ki Pou-tama ra.
 Karanga mai E Pare !
 I te tara ki Rangi-kohua,
 Tera taku manu, he manu tākupu—
 He tākupu matakana,
 He aua matawhero,
 Mo nga utu e hira
 Ki te pae ki Karaka-ura.
 He aha koia koe te tohi atu ai
 To patu whakatu, ki te ihu o Mama,
 O Mama ra, i te kai a wai ?
 O Hari ra, i te kai a Ranga
 O Hari ra, i te kai a Oro,
 O Tiu ra, i te kai a Maene,
 Ka mahungahunga te whakahoro,
 I tou angaanga—
 Tou angaanga i tohe nei,
 Ki te hau o te riri
 Ko Kaha-tuatini, hei utu mo aku taro
 I ngaua iho nei—e—i.

 TRANSLITERATION.

Behold the dark and gloomy cloud of war,
 That settles down o'er Parininihi cliff.
 Hadst thou but waited the forthcoming tide
 Of waters from Nga-Motu,¹ that would have flowed
 Hither with thy son, with Rau-o-Matuku,²
 To aid thee, the storm of battle to repel.
 His plumes yet flash in the rear of the *taua*
 (Too late to succour thee in thy need).

Spread out were thy flowing garments—
 Spread out upon the hill at Whare-kohu
 (As thou led on in the forefront of the battle).
 Gallant were the plumes upon thy head
 As before thee flew the "stars of morning."³
 Let them float forth that I may swim
 In the overwhelming battle of retreat
 That caused thy downfall within at Pārā-rewa.

Thou didst not take heed to the demon's⁴ fire,
 Such, O Poutu,⁵ as thou brought hither
 To support this tribe in its future wars.
 Rejoice not ye, the dependants of 'Ati-Tama,⁶
 But think of 'Tautari,⁷ and others of thy tribe.
 Let this be payment for unavenged defeats
 As oft thy tribe turned aimlessly to and fro
 At the rock of Raro-taka⁸ there below.
 Thy weapon, O Sir! would never have failed thee
 But that thy loved one, thy orders disobeyed,⁹
 Hence was the "plume of my canoe" broken.
 Thou wert the pillar, that stayed war-parties,
 From the south, from the north, even Te Rau-paraha's,
 But now cast down are the hopes of woman.
 O my richly tatooed one! with Awa-nui's¹⁰ pattern,
 Is henceforth lost to sight and forgotten.
 Naught but a fierce blowing gale
 Could overthrow my lofty *Rata* tree—
 My sheltering *Totara*, in its beauty,
 That stood so straight and tall at Poutama.

Lift up thy voice and praise, O Pare!
 At the peak of Rangi-kohua,
 This my bird, like unto an ocean bird,
 A wild white gannet,
 A red-eyed mullet,
 Now slain in payment for the many
 That fell at Karaka-ura.
 Why did thou fail to strike out straight
 With uplifted weapon, on Mama's nose?
 Of Mama¹⁷ indeed! who shall be eaten by whom?
 Of Hari,¹⁷ there! who shall be food for Ranga,¹⁸
 Of Hau',¹⁷ also! who shall be eaten by Oro,¹⁹
 Of Tiū,¹⁷ again! whom Maene¹⁹ shall eat.

Crushing was the stroke that overthrew thee!
 That fatal blow upon thy head—
 That head that shone in the fore—
 In the wild tempest of battle.
 Kahu-tuatini shall be the payment,
 For my *tarōs*, for my loved ones,
 That there have been destroyed.

NOTES:—1 "The waters from Nga-Motu" represent the on-coming Ati-Awa who arrived too late to save the day at Para-rewa. 2 Rau-o-Matuku, another name for Te Whare-pouri, we thus learn that this well-known chief in later days was with the Ati-Awa force. 3 "Stars of Morning," the chiefs of the opposing party. 4 *Tupua*, or demon, *i.e.*, the guns of the Pakeha. 5 Poutu brought the first musket to Ngati-Tama from the Nga-Puhi. 6 Ati-Tama = Ngati-Tama. 7 Tautari short for Maunga-tautari, killed by Ngati-Tama at Pou-tama, see *ante*. 8 Rarotaka, a flat rock below Te Kawau *pa*, the scene of many a fight. 9 Tu-poki, before the battle, had given orders that no food was to be eaten by his tribe, but his granddaughter disobeyed him, which was an evil omen for him, and hence—they believe—he was killed. 10 Awa-nui-a-Tarawera, another name for Whanganui river. 17 All chiefs engaged in the battle of Para-rewa on the Ngati-Mania-poto side. 18 A dog belonging to the composer. 19 Slaves of the composer. Pare was Pare-te-korae, mother of Hau-auro of Ngati-Mania-poto (? Ngati-Hine-uru) and Hari was Hari-Maruru, who defeated Ngati-Tama at Tihi-manuka in 1819.

Te Whao was one of the chiefs of Ngati-Mutunga killed at Pārewa, and he was related to Kauhoe, a woman of Ngati-Hine-tuharua of Ngati-Mutunga. She was afterwards the second wife of the celebrated Te Pu-ohu of Ngati-Tama, who met his death, near Goodenough Bay, in the South Island, about 1835. Kauhoe composed the following lament for Te Whao and Tupoki. Te Whao's wife, says Rangipitahi, was from Ngati-Hine-uru, and she died of grief for the loss of her husband, who was a very fine, handsome man.

Tera te uira hikohiko ana mai,
 Hoehoe ake ra nga rahi a Te Whao
 I raro Te Hikuwai e—
 Ka tika i te ia o Orohue i tai,
 Ka ripa ki waho ra e,
 Atu-tahi koa, te whetu tarake o te rangi,
 Ka kopi te kukume,
 Ka hahae Mata-riki e—
 Puanga, Tau-toru—
 Nana i kukume koutou ki te mate e—
 Wahia i waenga i te angaanga
 O Ngati-Mahuta, nana te wahine,
 To kiri piataata kia whakapokia
 Ki te ahi manuka e.
 Iti toku taina
 Me tangi e au i te pou o te whare,
 Nau i eke atu i te waka pukatea,
 I te waka kohekohe ra.
 Kuru-tonga-rerewa
 Nau i wehe atu te tau i a Kahu—e—
 Motaha ki tahaki
 Kei te anuanu au i te wai-roro tapu
 No Tu-korehu, no Hauauru,
 Ka kita aku niho—e—

There was also killed in this battle a somewhat famous chief of Ngati-Toa who was assisting Ngati-Tama, their constant allies and relatives, named Te Matoe, who was the father of Te Kanae and Rawiri Puaha, both men of note at the time Wellington was founded. The following lament was composed by Taka-mai-te-rangi, Matoe's father:

Ko au, ko tama putea-wananga
 Ki te whare korero,
 Ma Wai-kapakapa
 E hua ake kia tupu,
 Hoki ana mai ko te kawa ki au.
 E Rangi-aho ka kite ra koe
 Kiore kai kiri runga o Para-rewa,
 Whakarawakitia ki te puni-o-Tane
 He kai te manu iti, he kai ika mounu,
 He kai ka kuka, ka noa,
 Ka whara kei muri,
 Kowai au, E te ipo!

Kia whakamau iho te ra huru mai,
Ko Te Matoe i te rangi,
E waiho ana koe i te puni wahine,
Whakainuiniumia i roto o Tahere,
Tangi tiere ana te tai o Rau-kura
Haere mai nei koe i te iwi ka ngaro,
Te mate apiti ki tua o te rawhiti.

TRANSLITERATION.

The son am I of those whose ancient knowledge
Was taught by priests in the house of learning
(No longer do I interest feel in our ancient lore),
In future shall it be for Wai-kapakapa
To cause the fruits to grow and bear,
Whilst bitterness and sorrow remain for me.
O Rangi-aho ! it was thou that saw
Those flesh-eating rats above at Para-rewa,
Who rifled the camp of our braves,
When all, both great and small, were eaten,
Or left as wasted dried-up food, common to all.
Now alas ! will they all be forgotten ?
Who then am I, O thou beloved !
That fixes my gaze on the setting sun—
Emblematic of Te Matoe in the skies,
Better hadst thou remained in the woman's camp,
To drink of the waters of Tahere,
Breaking are the waves on Rau-kura beach,¹
'Tis surely a message from those now lost,
Another death added to that in the east.²

¹ An *one-tapu*, or beach used as road near Kawhia. ² Refers to the death of Te Momo
son of Te Whata-nui, principal chief of Ngati-Rau-kawa) who was killed not long before at Te
oto-a-Tara, Hawke's Bay.

ON ARIKI, AND INCIDENTALLY, TOHUNGA.

BY HARE HONGI.

AN article which appears in the Journal of September (Vol. XVII. p. 162) last has stimulated editorial invitation for contribution on this hitherto comparatively little discussed subject.

The limitations of the Journal's space demand of its contributors something, at once, fully informing and, as brief as may be.

Assuming, however, that the mission of the Journal is to present facts, so far as such are available, and not merely opinions more or less authoritative, one's only anxiety need be to embody such matter shall continue to have a permanent interest as a channel of reference and so claim a full place in the Journal.

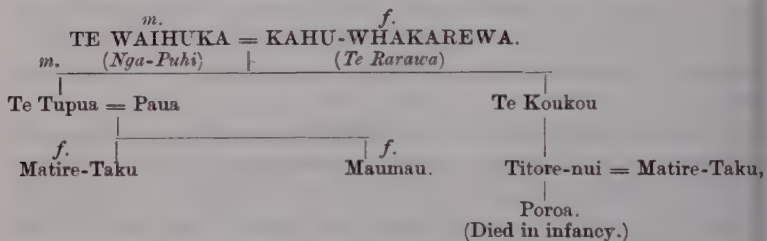
Not that the position cannot be shortly and clearly put, for it can. For instance: an inferior chief has one cousin-*rangatira*; his superior chief has fifty cousins-*rangatira*; his high chief has one hundred cousins-*rangatira*; his *Ariki* has two hundred cousins-*rangatira*. Again, as the chiefs are of various degrees of rank, so are the *Ariki*: there is the local *Ariki* of the inferior chiefs of a minor genealogical line; there is the local *Ariki* of the superior chief of a line of fifty cousins-*rangatira*; there is the immediate *Ariki* of the high chief of a line of one hundred cousins-*rangatira*; there is the *Tino Ariki* of a main line which embraces many branch lines; and, finally, there is a still more superior *Ariki* born of a union of the *Ariki* families of two or more main genealogical lines. (We are now considering a genuine system of patriarchy throughout this article the words *genealogical line* are implied wherever omitted. As to the meaning of *Ariki*, it is sufficient to state that *patriarch*—in so far as this genealogically signifies *father-in-chief*—conveys its true expression.)

In a word, then, an *Ariki* is one in whom many ancestral lines converge, and from whom many ancestral lines diverge; by the first he becomes the superior descendant-of-many; by the second he becomes the superior ancestor-of-many: ancestor-in-chief; father-in-chief. Such an *Ariki* was my ancestor Rahiri, representative of the four main tribes whose domains extended originally from the present city of Auckland northwards along both coasts to the North Cape.

The Maori has a passionate esteem for the law of primogeniture in the male line. To the Maori no *Ariki* was so sacred in person as he who was the first-born of a first-born through three, four, or five generations. Unfortunately for such an ideal state Nature has her moods, and her behests had to be accepted as the best the gods provided. The ideal saw a first-born son united to a first-born daughter, with a son as the first-fruit of the union, to be in his turn united to a first-born daughter. The practical saw that the first-born son prematurely died or was killed; in addition, the first-born frequently proved to be a daughter. Again, an *Ariki* proves to be too young to wed the fully-matured eldest daughter of highest rank, and she is mated to one of his more mature cousin-junior; whilst he, when quite matured, is mated to a junior daughter, sometimes the younger sister of the one which his youth lost to him. But, notwithstanding these most truly natural conditions, the Elders ever kept the ideal before themselves, and no union in the highest families took place before the genealogical position of the parties to it was fully thought out and discussed.

(a) The question of domicile was yet another disturbing factor affecting that ideal state for which the Elders strove. Each tribe had its main centre or stronghold, in which was to be found the flower of its nobility, which always included the *Ariki*. But sons of the *to-ariki* occasionally went a-field; elected to settle on the outskirts of the tribal domain, where their sons and grandsons grew up and remained in independence, taking no further part in the transactions of the main centre. Such a section became lost to the main tribe, implicitly ostracised. It is largely so with the descendants of Kaharau, that brilliant son of Rahiri who, in the punishment of insolent chiefs, bore his conquering arms from the waters of Hokianga on the west coast to the tides of Whanga-ruru on the east coast, where his local descendants are still to be found. It sometimes happened that a connection was maintained in such cases by inter-marriage, but, although apparently equal in every other respect, a chief of distant domicile was not conceded the influence, therefore the *māna* of a home chief. On the other hand, if such a section grew strong and effectively kept in check their aggressively turbulent neighbours, it was regarded as a power for the general good and lost little if any caste by its voluntary separation. All of which observations strictly apply to a discussion of the question under notice, namely, as to the meaning, the power, and the status of an *Ariki*. It should be here added that a female *Ariki* was, as already indicated, an inevitability; such were termed *ariki-tapairu*, which has the meaning of *ariki-by-courtesy*, a rather unwilling acceptance of what was certainly regarded as being a merely intrusive female. Such was my grandmother Maumau, *ariki-tapairu* of both the Nga-Puhi and the Rarawa main tribes. Her apparently

unwelcome advent to this world was signalled by her being named the epithet *maumau*, or *waste*, a waste of time, blood, and title on a female. In such a case the *correct* course is very clear, that is to hasten to marriage in order to contribute to the lordly male line. In this, however, poor Maumau lamentably failed by first becoming the mother of four successive daughters. Still more unfortunate was her only sister Matire-Taku, who, being wedded to their first cousin Titore, gave birth to a son, Poroa, who died in infancy. There were no further children born of this union for many years, and so it is that Titore (he who sent a gift by Captain Sadler, of H.M.S. "The Buffalo," to his Majesty King William the Fourth, receiving in return a suit of armour and a letter, in 1835) has no descendants. He was the son of a younger brother, and his two cousins-female alone stood between him and this superior *Ariki*-ship, thus :—



(Te Tupua was a first-born and son. For the reasons shown the names of Matire and Titore require no further reference.)

For the proper illustration of this article a fairly extensive series of genealogical lines, hitherto unpublished, are now given. These lines largely include the names of the principal ancestors who have controlled and shaped the destinies of the North Auckland tribes from the earliest traditional times. To students and readers of the Journal they offer entirely new fields of enquiry, by clearing up avenues of past doubt and exposing tricks of the mendacious. It is indeed a remarkable yet none the less indisputable fact that neither the "Arawa" nor the "Tainui" canoes are traditionally known to the North Auckland tribes.

For convenience of reference the genealogical line from "Toi," facing page forty in Journal, Vol. VII., Table I., is classed as A, while those as B, C, D, etc., are here given. For the same reason the names of those ancestors who are most particularly concerned in the building up and sustaining of the *aho-ariki* will be shown in heavy type. The paragraph marked (a) *ante*, will also serve a useful purpose of brevity. So far, the Toi line just referred to as Table I., and with which readers of the Journal have been made so familiar, thanks to the zeal and research of Mr. S. Percy Smith, is at once the most important and the most reliably satisfactory of all lines. Toi becomes the greatest ancestor

TABLE II.

B Tuputupu-whenua = Hinekui

Te Ao = Mataari
 Herua = Hine (period of Toi, Table I)
 Uea-i-te-rangi = Marae
 Kura = Mata-riria
 Kaweau = Maari
 Harua-ki-tai = Rangi
 Te Pou = Te Kiri
 Ngarue = Te Maunga
Te Toko-o-te-rangi = Paia

(“ Te kainga i noho ai enei *tupuna, ko Tautoro*; ‘ Te Pou—waka a Mauwhena.’ ”)

C Tu-houhia = Maru-ua

Te Rangi-heke-tini = Te Haunui (“ *Tukua mai ki a au, ki te tuara wahatini; ki nga uri tau-parekura a Tuhouhia.* ”)
 (Ngati-Rangi)

Ue-oneono = Ngaki

Tutakina = Moe-tuturu

Tua, or Tuakainga = Tokerau
 (Eponymous ancestor of Ngati-Whatua.)

Ue-whatu = Rangi-ao

Te Aorere = Te Iri

Ue-huha = Te Rea

Hamu = Whitiao

Tara = Tiki-wharawhara (under D)

Te Ngere = Hinewai

Tauirangi = Te Rangi-tauawaro

Rongo-taumua = Te Ruru

Tawake-roa = Hei

Te Ngere = Niu-tawhanga

Te Rangi-hoketini—

Tupu = Te Ara

Whakahotu = Te Rae

Kahuru = Te Hou (of Rahiri)

Pukekohe = Te Pohue-nui

Kete-roro

Wae = Maru

Te Kiripute

Paua = Te Tupua

Maumau

Huhana

Hare Hongi

(Wainate.)

Karawai

Kuao

Iraia Kuao

Macra

(Tautoro.)

Whiti-ao

Te Tirarau

Tawera = Parore

Te Ahu

Pouaka

(Wairoa-Whangarei.)

Whakatere

Whiti-ao

Te Tirarau

Tawera = Parore

(Wairoa-Whangarei.)

Whiti-ao

Te Tirarau

Tawera = Parore

Te Ahu

Pouaka

(Wairoa-Whangarei.)

Whakatere

Whiti-ao

Te Tirarau

Tawera = Parore

(Wairoa-Whangarei.)

Whakatere

Whiti-ao

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Tawera = Parore

(Wairoa-Whangarei.)

Whakatere

Whiti-ao

Te Tirarau

Tawera = Parore

(Wairoa-Whangarei.)

Whakatere

Whiti-ao

Te Tirarau

Tawera = Parore

(Wairoa-Whangarei.)

Whakatere

Whiti-ao

Te Tirarau

Tawera = Parore

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Tawera = Parore

(Wairoa-Whangarei.)

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Tawera = Parore

(Wairoa-Whangarei.)

Whakatere

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Te Tirarau

Tawera = Parore

(Wairoa-Whangarei.)

Whakatere

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Te Tirarau

Tawera = Parore

(Wairoa-Whangarei.)

Whakatere

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Te Tirarau

Tawera = Parore

(Wairoa-Whangarei.)

Whakatere

Whiti-ao

Te Tirarau

Tawera = Parore

(Wairoa-Whangarei.)

Whakatere

Whiti-ao

Te Tirarau

Tawera = Parore

(Wairoa-Whangarei.)

Whakatere

Whiti-ao

Te Tirarau

TABLE III.

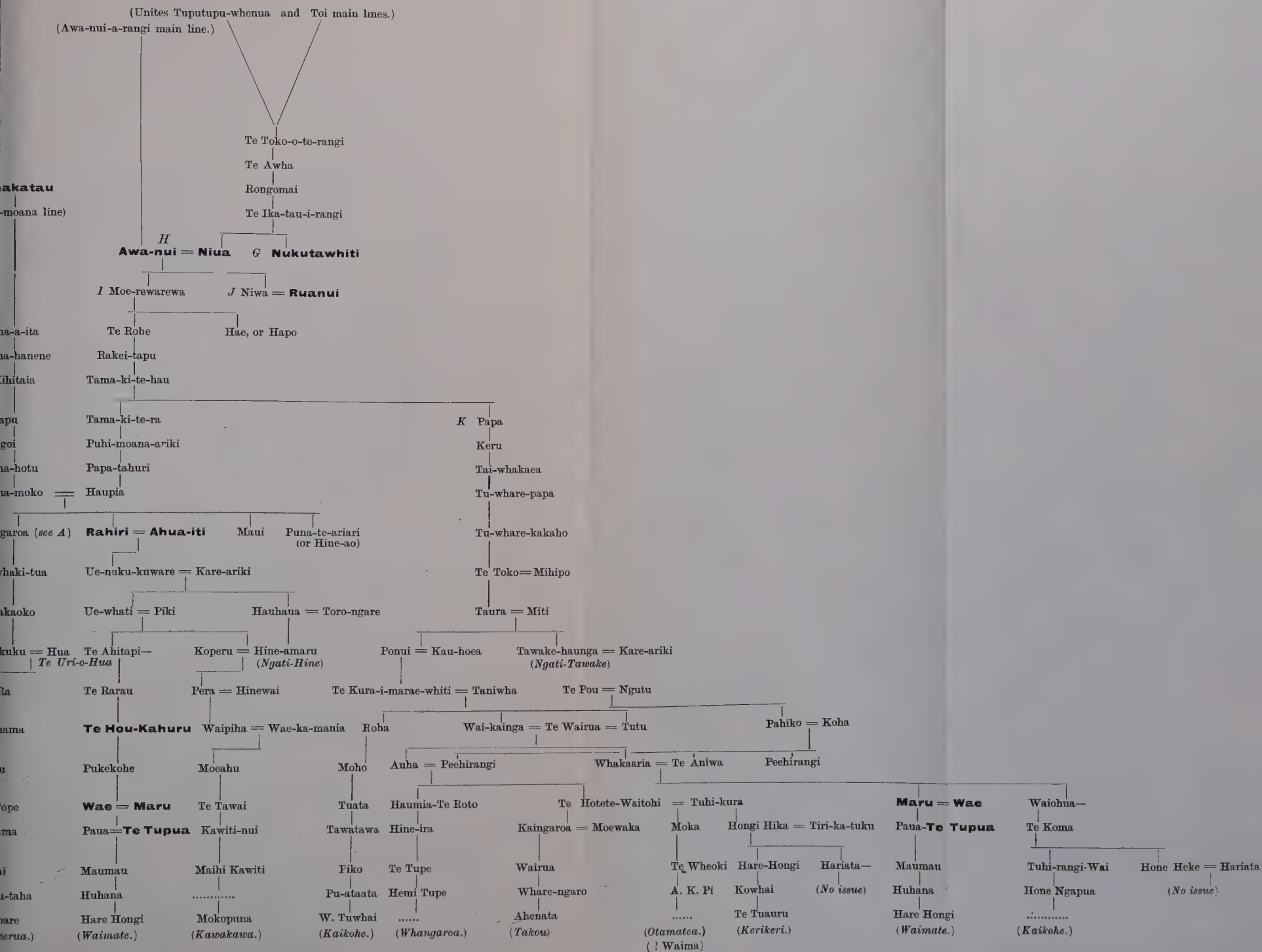


TABLE IV.

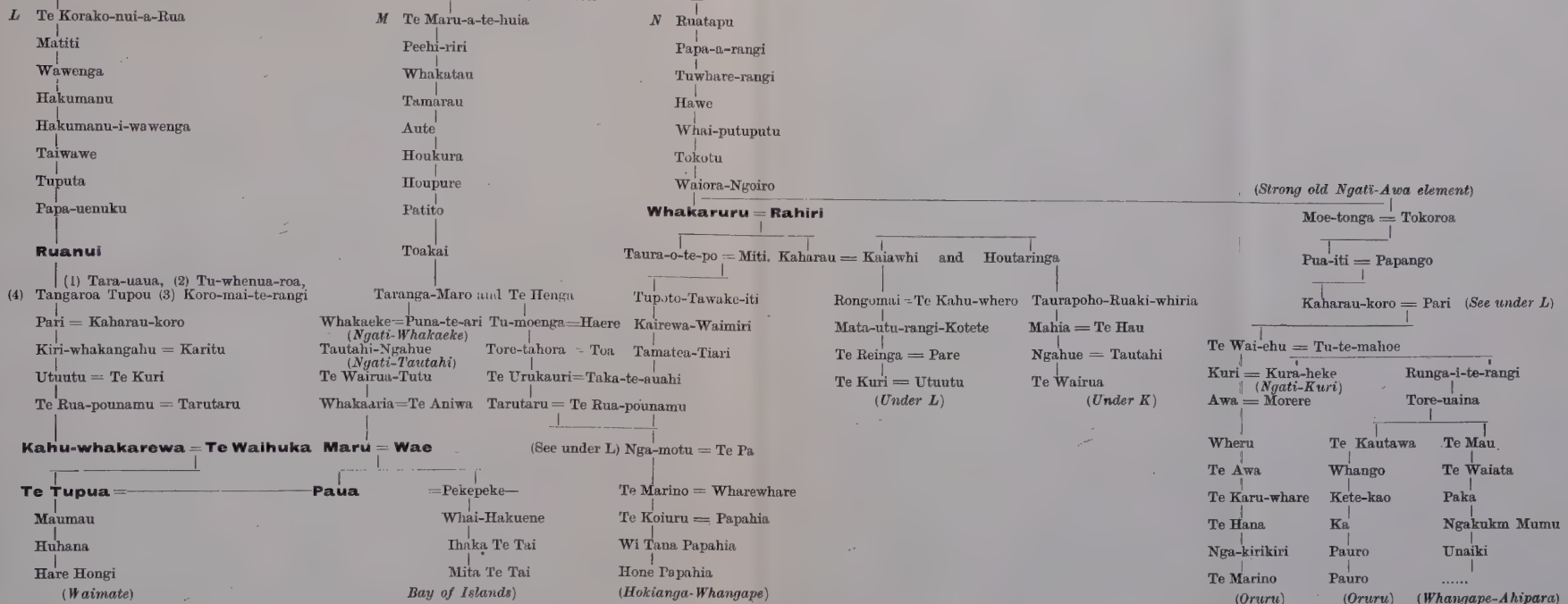
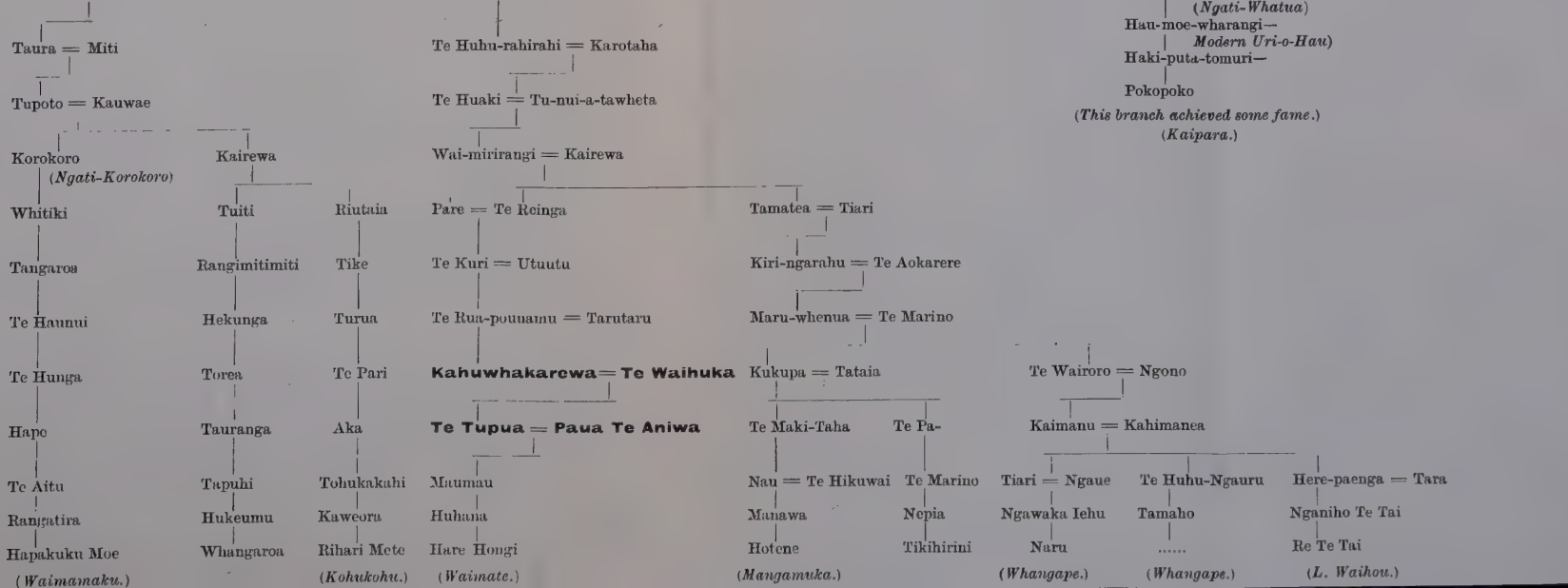
(See G) **Nukutawhiti.****J Niwa = Rua (tapu) Nui**

TABLE IVa.

Rahiri = Whakaruru (Table III.)Had a brother **Maui = Tikata-a-rangi**And a sister Puna-te-ariari, or, **Hineao = Te Aweawe**

of his time and place, not alone because his descendants extend throughout the length and breadth of this country, but because from fifty independent lines of descent we are enabled with historical precision to fix his plane at thirty-two generations back from the year 1900. The table of British Royal descent shows that the present Prince of Wales is thirtieth in descent from William the Conqueror. So that from the Toi traditional tables we are taught with tolerable certainty that at a period dating two generations beyond that of William the Conqueror this country was already settled by a capable and intelligent yet warlike Maori people (*Journal*, Vol. IV., p. 216). But, outside of the Toi tables themselves, the ten succeeding generations remain historically unsatisfactory, and it is regrettable that instead of addressing themselves to the work of removing this hiatus contributors have deluged the *Journal* and kindred prints with minutely detailed accounts of canoe-voyagers of some twenty generations ago; which accounts are for the most part mere fabrications, built up from slender and inconsequent material.*

Still keeping strictly in view the main purpose of this article, let us now consider the following genealogical line in its aspect of filling in the hiatus just referred to. Its leading ancestor is Tuputupu-whenua, the Tumutupu-whenua† of our kinsmen of the Central Pacific, commonly regarded as being the FIRST MAN. The name literally signifies *Earth-grown*, and as Maori names are before all things descriptive, the student may correctly infer that the Maori is a prime believer in the doctrine of evolution. Of the scores of generations succeeding that first man, and which are obviously unknown to history we make here no note, their place is shown by the short break in the line. The line is more extensive than here shown, but a lengthy recital of names, about which tradition is silent, cannot materially bridge that unknown past. We are taught to believe that Tuputupu-whenua was born of the soil and that his direct descendants were aboriginals of this country. Those here shown are the immediate progenitors of the Ngati-Rangi branch of the Nga-Puhi tribe and one of its most honoured. This branch regards with the utmost disdain those more southern tribes who attribute their very existence to the arrival of some more or less mythical canoe-voyaging ancestor of modern times. This is well illustrated in the story which runs: Some generations ago a member of a junior branch of Ngati-Rangi referred with some pride to the doings of his

* We cannot at all agree with this statement as to the unreliability of the histories of the later migration of about the year 1350. The mere facts that the names of the canoes are known to Eastern Polynesians as well as to Maoris, and the accordance in the number of generations that have lived since the arrival of these enemies is proof of their authenticity.—EDITOR.

† ? Tumutumu-whenua.—EDITOR.

canoe-voyaging ancestor Tamatea-pokai-whenua (of the canoe "Taki-timu," then regarded as belonging strictly to this country. The surname of this ancestor is certainly derived from his traditional voyages and explorations in and about the North and South Islands.) The member alluded to was promptly rebuked by an old chief of the senior line, in these words: *E hara nga tai katoa me nga rangatiratanga, he rangatiratanga a-pori; ka pa ko au, ko te Titi, ko te Aporei, ko Tamapupuru marire, ko Ngati-Rangi; ko te angaanga titi iho i te rangi!*" which may be freely rendered: "Boast not before me of the lordliness of other seas and the fairness of their climes as described by unknown castaways of no particular country; unlike myself, a fixture reflecting the beauty of a land wherein my fathers from time immemorial have played in childhood, as I myself have played; who knew not as I myself know not of any other sky, save that now crowning my head!" Fine conservatism this. The Tamatea connection is set out in the accompanying Table. Its historical interest consists in the fact that many well-known chiefs in widely separated parts of this country claim him as their son, Kahu-unu, or Kahu-ngunu, as being their particular ancestor; he proved to be a wanderer as his father was before him (Journal, Vol. III., p. 213). His northern descendants are the Ngai-Tamatea and the Ngati-Kahu, of Doubtless Bay, who have thus perpetuated the names of these their ancestors as tribal designations.

As already indicated, these genealogies set out the lines of the ruling chiefs and families for the whole country to the north of Auckland during a period extending back with historical exactitude to at least twenty-five generations; their history is largely the true history of the North. Although consideration of space has necessitated compression, the four Tables exhibit two striking facts: The first is that Rahiri, in his ancestors and descendants, presents a most striking figure; and the second is that all of the main lines and the principal branch lines converge upon Maumau. Those two facts testify to and proclaim the *Ariki*-ship which is the subject of this enquiry. It may be urged, alike by those who do not understand as by those who may be unwilling to believe, that perhaps others can show a similar genealogical connection to that of Maumau. It is therefore necessary to explicitly state that none other can show such a rich genealogical connection as Maumau., to the actual rules of the Maori world of the North.

The somewhat fanciful terms which Mr. Hammond recites in the above paper are sometimes applied to an *Ariki*, but such a term as "Tumu-whakarae," which strictly applies to a *Kauri forest*, can have little force in the South, where *Kauri* forests do not exist. Mr. Hammond's instructors, however, entirely misinform him in assigning a secondary position to an *Ariki*. In a genealogy loving people such

as the Maori no higher position than that of *Ariki* is possible, no matter by what other designation he may be known.

This paper may be ended by a brief reference to Nukutawhiti. When the last word is said it will be found that Nukutawhiti is none other than the Uenuku-ariki of Table I. (Journal, Vol. VII., p. 40), and that our Rua(tapu)nui is his son Ruatapu. Both names have been connected with the mythical Omamari, Omamaru, or Tokomaru canoe, but a quantity of traditional evidence is extant to show that those canoe stories were already myths in their own days. Their history must await future papers.

KO TE TIKANGA O TENEI KUPU, O ARIKI.

NA H. T. WHATAHORO.

MO to patai mo Te Ariki : Ko toku rongo ki a Mohi Torohanga tino tohunga o te wananga ; ki a Mohi Ruatapu hoki, tino tohunga o te wananga o Ngati-Porou, koia tenei. Me penei e au kiia marama ai te whakaatu. Ko Ropata i marena ki a Heni. Ko Ropata ko Heni he tino uri rangatira raua tokorua. A raua tamariki, ara :—

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 1 Pape | T |
| 2 Hare | T |
| 3 Tini | W |
| 4 Kere | T |
| 5 Teone | T |

Na, ko Pape, ka kiia tenei tamaiti he matamua ; ko Hare, ka kiia he taina no Pape. Ko Tini ka kiia tenei he tuahine-taina no Pape, no Hare hoki. Ko Kere he taina no Pape, no Hare. Engari he tungane taina no Tini. Ko Teone he taina-whakapakanga no Pape, no Hare no Kere. Engari he tungane-whakapakanga no Tini. Ko tahi whakahua mo te whakapakanga o ratou, ara ko Teone, ka kiia ia he potiki ; no te mea ko ia te tamaiti whakamutunga.

Na, ki te mea ka kitea ina tupu aua tamariki, ara, ka pakeke ratou (ka tae pea ki te 20 tau, ki te 30 tau ranei), ka mohiotia ko Pape he tangata mohio ki te whakaaro nui, ki te manaaki tangata, ka te whakahaere i te hapu, i te iwi ranei, ka mea tona hapu, iwi ranei ko Pape hei ariki ia ki taua whanau katoa, me ona hapu o tona papa o tona whaea, me nga iwi o te papa o te whaea hoki. Ka whakaaturia taua hiahia kia mohio nga hapu me nga iwi, kua kiia a Pape hei ariki. Ki te whakaae nga taina me to ratou tuahine me o ratou matua me nga hapu, me nga iwi o te whaea, o te papa ranei, ka noho ene karanga ki runga ki a Pape he ariki-matamua ia no ena hapu me ena uri. Tona tikanga i tena wa, koia te tino tangata hei whakaae i te pakanga kia whawhai ona hapu, ona iwi ki etahi atu iwi. A, ma taua ariki e hohou te rongo ka māna ai. Ki te kore te ariki e whakaae kaore e mau te rongo. Kaore tetahi tangata e kaha ki te whakahe te kupu a te ariki i tana wa. A ki te whakahetia te kupu a taua ariki e tetahi tangata, ka kiia tena he hara kino, he takahi māna. Ka ara

te pakanga i kona; ahakoa na tetahi tangata o tona hapu, o tona iwi ake; ka patua te tangata, ka murua te whenua, te taonga ranei.

Ka rua nga māna ki tenei tangata, ki a Pape; ko tona matamua-tanga, ko te whakatunga i a ia hei ariki. Engari ki te whakataua e te iwi ki a Hare te māna-ariki, heoi, ka kiia i a Hare te upoko ariki o ona tuakana o ona taina, tuahine, o ona hapu, o ona iwi hoki. Ka mau tonu i a Pape ko te tuakanatanga, ko te matamuatanga. Ki te roiro i a Teone te māna-ariki ka pera ano me Hare; ka pera ano a Kere.

Na; ki te ki te hapu, te iwi ranei, ko Tini hei Kahurangi, ka mau tonu te māna o tena kupu ki runga i a ai; ka tau taua ingoa a kahurangi ki te tamaiti wahine a nga matua momo-rangatira, pera me nga matua o Pape ma. Ko taua ingoa ka tau ki te mea e whakanuia ana e nga hapu, e nga iwi. He māna to taua tamaiti-kahurangi ki te whakamutu i te whawhai; ki te takahia, ka mate te tangata nana i takahi taua maunga rongo.

Na, kahore te kahurangi e kiia ki runga ki te tamaiti, engari te ariki. Kahore te ariki e kiia ki runga ki te tamaiti wahine, engari te kahurangi. Ko te tino ingoa nui o te tokomaha o nga tangata-tane kua kiia he ariki, he matamua ranei no nga whanau rangatira, ka kiia ratou katoa he "Ropu-whatukura." Ko nga kahurangi katoa ka kiia he "Ropu-marae-kura." Heoi, ko nga tangata momo tane, wahine, e kore e kiia he ariki, he kahurangi; ka kiia enei he rangatira-tane, wahine ranei.

Heoi tenei whakamaramatanga aku. Na, he karanga pohehe na te tangata kore mohio ki tona tikanga o te ariki, o te kahurangi, ka ki noa ki runga i tetahi tangata he ariki he kahurangi ranei. Engari nga mea i peratia me era i kiia ake ra e au i te No. 1, 2, 3, 4. Koira te hangaitanga o te ariki, o te kahurangi. Heoi.

TRANSLATION.

THE MEANING OF THE WORD "ARIKI."

By H. T. Whatahoro.

In reference to your enquiry (J.P.S., Vol. XVII., p. 165) as to Ariki: This is what I learnt from Mohi Torohanga, the chief priest of the *wananga* (history, ritual, etc.), and of Mohi Ruatapu, chief priest of the *wananga* of Ngati-Porou, as follows. I will give the following (supposititious) form as illustration:—Ropata married Heni; they

were both descendants of high-born families. Their children were:—

- | | | |
|---|-------|---------|
| 1 | Pape | male. |
| 2 | Hare | „ |
| 3 | Tini | female. |
| 4 | Kere | male. |
| 5 | Teone | „ |

Now Pape (1) would be called a *matamua*, or first-born; Hare (2) a *taina*, or younger brother of Pape; Tini (3) would be a *tuahine-taina*, or younger sister of Pape and Hare; Kere (4) is also a *taina*, or younger brother of Pape and Hare, but a *tungane-taina*, or younger brother, of Tini; Teone (5) is a *taina-whakapakanga*, or last younger brother of Pape, Hare, and Kere, but a *tungane-whakapakanga*, or last younger brother of Tini. There is only one that is called the *whakapakanga*, that is Teone, who is (also) called the *potiki*, or youngest, because he is the last.

If it is seen, when these children have grown up (say to twenty or thirty years), that Pape is a man of knowledge, intelligence, and can entertain guests (in a becoming manner), is capable of guiding the *hapu* and tribe, his *hapu* or his tribe decide he shall be the *ariki* of that family, and of the *hapus* of his father and mother. This desire is made known so that the *hapus* and tribes may know, and if his younger brothers, sister, parents, and tribes consent, he is made *ariki-matamua* (or first-born *ariki*), over all these people. The meaning of this is, he is the chief man, whose consent is necessary to enable his tribe to make war against other tribes. And the same *ariki* alone can make a lasting peace. If the *ariki* does not consent, peace is not made. No man has power to gainsay the word of the *ariki* in his time. If any one should dispute the command of the *ariki* it is said to be a great sin; it is treading on his *māna* (power, prestige, etc). Great trouble would arise, and even if the one who disputes the *ariki's* word were of his own tribe he would be killed, and his land and property confiscated.

This man Pape has two sources of *māna* (prestige); his being the eldest son, and his appointment as *ariki*. But if the tribe place the *māna-ariki* (head chief's prestige) on Hare, it is said that the head chieftainship of his elder and younger brothers and sisters is on him as well as that of the *hapus* and tribe. Pape still holds the position of elder brother and first-born. It would be the same with either Kere or Teone.

If the *hapus* or tribe were to appoint Tini (the sister) as *kahurangi*, she would hold the *māna* (prestige) of that name (and all it implies); such name is only given to a daughter of high rank, such as the child of the parents of Pape and the others. It is a name which is only given to one who is exalted by the *hapus* and tribes. This *tamaiti-kahurangi* (high-born daughter) has equally the power to en-

war and make peace, or continue the war. If her decision is trampled on, death is the punishment of him who does so.

The word *kahuranyi* is not given to a son, but he is called an *ariki*; nor is *ariki* applied to a female, but rather *kahurangi*. The chief name given to most of the sons made *ariki*, or to the first-born of chiefly rank, is “Ropu-whatukura,” whilst all the *kahurangi* are termed “Ropu-marae-kura.” But the greater number of well-born males and females are not called either *ariki* or *kahurangi*, but rather chiefly men or women (*tane*-, or *wahine-rangatira*).

This is all I have to say. It is a mistake of the ignorant, who knew not the meanings of *ariki* and *kahurangi*, who apply the terms without knowing their meanings. Only the cases illustrated by the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, above, should have the terms *ariki* or *kahurangi* applied to them. Enough.

We may take Whatahoro's paper as illustrating the east coast understanding of the term *ariki*; it differs from some of the other tribes, in that the office would appear to be more one of appointment by the tribe (but only of well-born individuals) than inherent in a high-born eldest son, which is the meaning we have always heard ascribed to the title. *Kahurangi* also, we believe, is an east coast substitute for *Tapairu* in other parts. *Kahurangi* is a word very frequently found in poetry, meaning high-born, beloved, esteemed. It is also a name for one of the finer kinds of Jadeite. *Tapairu* is common as a personal name in Eastern Polynesia, and Dr. Wyatt Gill translated it as “Fairest of the fair.”—EDITOR.

A HOKIANGA INCIDENT.

By A. C. YARBOROUGH.

AS an instance of the ignorance of the Maori, even within our own times, of the power of firearms, may be recorded the story of a fight which took place between Ngati-Korokoro *hapu* of Pakanae, headed by Moetara, and the Kai-tutae *hapu* of Whakarapa, led by Makara, subsequent to the arrival of the European.

The Ngati-Korokoro, to the number of three hundred, came up the Hokianga river in a vessel, or launch, called "Tupauna," and landed to attack the Kai-tutae, in the neighbourhood of Lower Waihou. These latter numbered only thirty braves, but they were all armed with guns. The three hundred came bravely on, and seeing the insignificant band opposed to them, proposed to surround them and capture the lot. The Kai-tutae reserved their fire, but as the enemy advanced to within distance a gun was fired and the first of the attackers fell; and then one by one four others fell, and presently they fell in numbers, until a panic set in, and the Ngati-Korokoro fled to their boat. As they crowded into her they offered an easy mark, and there was a great slaughter. Moetara was wounded in the neck and escaped. The great majority, however, of the attackers were either killed or captured, so that the small band of the Kai-tutae had a difficulty in conveying their prisoners to the village. The above story is supplied by Heremia Te Wake, one of our most respected resident Native chiefs. From his youth up he took the keenest interest in the art of war, and was exceptionally active in all sorts of exercise.

About the year 1864, the Kai-tutae proceeded across the river to Whirinaki, on the south side of Hokianga, where there was a dispute about some land in the valley. Parleying having proved abortive, the parties camped on each side of an open space, across which a line was drawn, with an intimation from Te Wake that if any of the opposite faction crossed the line he would be shot. Presently a man named Nuku did cross it, as has since been asserted, with the intention of obtaining water. Several of the Kai-tutae fired and Nuku was killed. The Kai-tutae retired, and there were several days spent in firing a

each other across the Hokianga river, near Mr. Manning's residence at Onoke, which is at that place over a mile wide, so that no harm was done. The Government thought it necessary to saddle the offence of the killing of Nuku on someone, and Te Wake was singled out. It would have been hopeless to have taken him captive without the assistance of a strong force, but he was persuaded to give himself up, and was eventually lodged in Mount Eden gaol. The story of his escape from that institution, told in his own language, is excessively interesting, and I regret not being able to reproduce it. It includes the scaling of the wall of the gaol with the assistance of two other prisoners, who attempted to escape with him, the pursuit by the warders, the wounding of one of the escapees and the capture of both, and his own escape into a piece of bush near Mount Eden, where he passed the night, and, notwithstanding that his hiding place was surrounded, his evasion of his pursuers, and his journey through a friendly country across Kaipara Heads and back to his home, where he was safe. A few years later he was pardoned, and has proved himself a useful member of society since, and is now prominent in pushing forward the interests of his people and in promoting a Native settlement on European lines of progress.

APPROXIMATE STRENGTH OF THE MAORI *HAPUS* OF HOKIANGA, *CIRCA* 1810.

By A. C. YARBOROUGH.

THE following is the approximate strength of fighting men in the valley of Hokianga and in Whangape, to which must be added not less than one hundred men from Otaua and Taheke, Upper Wairarapa branch of Hokianga; and in making a comparison between the census number of Maoris in Hokianga county one hundred years ago and now, it must be taken into consideration that no estimate has been made of the strength of the *hapus* living at Herekino and to the north, or of those at Opanake to the south, both of which places are within the boundaries of Hokianga county. (The census of 1906 gives two thousand five hundred and fourteen as the Maori and half-caste population of Hokianga county—men, women, and children.—EDITOR.)

Name of <i>Hapu</i> .	Principal Chief.	Place of Residence.	Estimate of Fighting Men.
Ihutai	Tohu	Kohukohu and mouth of Manga-muka	140
Te Popoto	Makoare	(Opposite shore) Motukiore	100
Mahurehure	Tawhai ?	Waima	400
Te Uri-kapura	Te Otene	Manga-muka	200
Te Kawata-taka			100
Waikato Immigrants			100* — 400
Ngati-toro	Patuone	Waihou	100
Ngati-Hau	Do.	Do.	100
Te Hikutu	Pomare	Whirinaki	200
Whanau-where		Do.	200* — 400
Ngati-Korokoro	Moetara	Pakanae	200
Te Roroa	? Tu-whare	Waimamaku, etc.	100
Ngai-Tupoto	Te Tai	Tapuae	100
Kai-tutae		Whakarapa and	200
Ngati-manawa		Lower Waihou	
Ngati-Kuri		Te Heuheu	Whangape
			2540

* Those marked with an asterisk are very nearly right, the others are approximate.



NOTES AND QUERIES.

[199] Ruins in Guam.

Captain Frederick Crocker, who for many years sailed among the islands of the Pacific, informed me recently that about seventy years ago he landed on the island of Guam and spent some days there. In the interior, among the forest trees, he saw several beautifully-carved round stone pillars, about four feet thick and twenty-five feet high, apparently a portion of a portico once belonging to some large structure. Farther inland he saw a large number of similar stone columns ranging from two to ten feet in height, some standing, others prostrate and broken, showing that at one time a large building had stood on the spot. Are these the ruins of the long sought for temple built by Tu-te-rangi-marama? It has been stated that this temple was built of stone, and was a wonderful structure of many rooms.

Have the ruins mentioned been examined by competent men recently, and are they well known? In the works accessible to me, no mention is made of any ruins in the island of Guam.

F. W. GODING.

Montevideo, March 9, 1909.

[We understand that the substance of this note has also appeared in "The Science of Man," Sydney. References to the ruins will be found in Rienzi's "Océanic," Paris, 1836, and in F. W. Christian's "Caroline Islands," London, 1899; but neither of these books are very full on this subject. The Koro-tuatini where Tu-te-rangi-marama lived is described as a house of many rooms, and does not fit in with the descriptions in either of the above works. A reference to this building will be found in this Journal, Vol. VII., p. 213.—EDITOR.]

[200] Fornander's "Polynesian Race."

Students of Polynesian matters have long felt the want of an index to the great work of Abraham Fornander, a work which will always remain one of the best written on the race, and which, moreover, was the first to treat of the history of the people from the traditional point of view. This want has now been supplied by John F. G. Stokes of the Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, and published by the Museum. The Index contains a bibliography of works consulted by Fornander in the preparation of his great book, "A Brief Memoir of the Author," by W. D. Alexander, LL.D., and seventy pages of index, which latter is very full and complete, and will be a great boon to Polynesian scholars, whose thanks are due to the Museum for printing it.

[201] **Tupa.** (J.P.S., Vol. XVII., p. 106.

Tupa and Rakaihika are two names that occur in *taumaha* invocations in the Ure-wera district, said by Tutaka to be two ancestors of very remote times, with whom the *taumaha* rite originated. The names occur in the line:—"Ka ma Tupaka ma Rakaihika." One *taumaha* has Tūpākākā in place of Tupa. Ma, says Tupaka is a shortened form of *māmā*, as in "Ka māmā hoki ahau, tenei tama."

ELSDON BEST.

[202] **An Ancient Name of New Zealand.** (See Notes, 198, Vol. XVIII. p. 44.)

Col. Gudgeon writes from Rarotonga under date 31st May, 1909:—"I am now in a position to tell you that the full name of old New Zealand, according to these people, was Rangimakē-Okirangi. I may add that all of the Cook Island people hold that all (? some) of them descended from ancestors who came from New Zealand. Quite lately, at Atiu Island, I spoke to the chief of Ngati-Arua, and he said that they were all descended from New Zealand ancestors on the one side or the other, that his ancestor was Te Ariki-moutaua, who married a woman of the old people of the land. . . . When I enquired at Mauke Island into the origin of the name Maketu at that place (also that of a celebrated place in the Bay of Plenty, New Zealand), they took me to the site of an old village and hunted about with a long knife among the leaves and rubbish till I heard a sharp click of the knife on a stone, and the man turned and said, 'This is Maketu; it is the old hearth stone of the canoe that brought the ancestors of Te Uke-ariki here, whose offspring were 1 Kai-tini, 2 Tara-matietie-toro, 3 Moetuma, who married Tangiia and had Te Rā and the second wife of Tangiia was Puatara, who had Mоторо. who had Uenuku-nu who had Uenuku-rakeiora, who had Rua-tapu.' I learned further that this stone was the only real one in Mauke (? the only stone other than coral) and was named Maketu after some old name of the Maori people."

[This is very satisfactory as proving that communication was frequent between New Zealand and the Islands prior to the arrival here of the fleet, circa 1355. Tangiia and his four descendants in the same order will be seen on the Rarotonga Genealogical Table printed at the end of "Hawaiki."—EDITOR.]



TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS. POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

A MEETING of the Council was held on the 25th June in the Library. Present :—
The President, and Messrs. Fraser, W. W. Smith, Skinner, Parker, and Newman.

Correspondence was read from two American Universities and the John Cleland Library, Chicago, seeking to exchange with the Society (which were declined for deficiency of shelf room) ; from E. Tregear, presenting MS. Vocabulary of the Marquesan dialect (acknowledged with thanks) ; Luzac and Co. *re* agency.

It was decided to ask Mr. K. Heirsseman to reproduce some of the early volumes of the Journal, now out of print.

The following paper was received :—

On Maori Star Names. By Elsdon Best.

The following list of exchanges, etc., was received :—

- 2290 *Archivio*—Società Italiana D'Anthropologia. Vol. xxxviii., 2.
2291-3 *Proceedings*—Royal Society of Edinburg. Vol. xxviii., 7, 8, xxix., 1.
2294-5 *Mitteilungen*—Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, Vienna. Vol xxxviii., 4,
5, 6.
2296 *Occasional Papers*—Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. Vol. iv., 2.
2297-2301 *Bulletin*—American Geographical Society. Oct., 1908, Feb., 1909.
2302-6 *Na Mata*. November, 1908, March, 1909.
2307-8 *The American Antiquarian*. September to December, 1908.
2309 *The Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. iii., 2.
2310 *F and V in the Philippine Languages*. C. E. Conant.
2311-14 *Journal*—Royal Colonial Institute. Vol. xl., 1 to 4.
2317 *Twenty-sixth Report*—Bureau of American Ethnology.
2318 *Calendar, 1907-8*—Imperial University of Tokyo.
416-7 *Tijdschrift*—Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde. Deel, li., 2.
2320 *Notulen*—Van de Bataviaasch Genootschap. Deel xli., 2, 3.
2321 *Dagh-Register*—Casteel Batavia, 1679.
2322 *Bijdragen*. Koninklijk Instituut. S-Gravenhage. Deel lxii.
2323 *Antikvarisk Tidskrift*—for Sveridge. Deel xviii., 2.
2324 *Fornvannnen*—K. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademen, 1907.
2325-29 *Revue*—De L'Ecole D'Anthropologie de Paris. October, 1908, February,
1909.
2330 *Pomo Indian Basketry*—University of California. Vol. vii., 3.
2331 *Achomawi and Atsugewi Tales*. Roland B. Dixon.
2332 *Some Aspects of the American Shaman*. „ „
2333 *Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi Indians*. „ „
2334 *E Tuatua taito*. By S. Savage. 2 copies from the Author.

- 2335 *The Origin of terms of Human Relationship.* By A. Lang.
- 2336 *Handbook*—The John Crerar Library.
- 2337 *L'Agrioltura Coloniale.* No. 3.
- 2338-42 *The Geographical Journal.* November, 1908, March, 1909.
- 2343 *Queensland Geographical Journal.* Vol. xxiii.
- 2344-49 *Science of Man.* October, 1908, March, 1909.
- 2350 *Vocabulary, Igorot language*—Bureau of Science Division of Ethnology Philippines. Vol. v. 3.
- 2351 *The History of Sulu.* Bureau of Science Division of Ethnology, Philippines Vol. iv., 2.
- 2352-3 *Revue*—De L'Ecole D'Anthropologie de Paris. March-April, 1909.
- 2354 *Science Bulletin*—University of Kansas. Vol. ix., 5.
- 2355 *The American Antiquarian.* January and February, 1909.
- 2356 *MSS. Vocabulary Marquesan Dialect.* From E. Tregear.
- 2357 *Bulletin*—American Geographical Society. Vol. xli. 3, March, 1909.
- 2358 *The Geographical Journal.* April, 1909.
- 2359 *Mitteilungen*—Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, Vienna. Vol. xxxix., 1, 2.
- 2360 *Proceedings*—Royal Society of Edinburg. Vol. xxix., 3.
- 2361 *Bulletin*—Société Neuchateloise de Géographie. Vol. xix.
- 2362-3 *Science of Man.* April-May, 1909.
- 2364 *Journal*—Royal Colonial Institute. Vol. xl. 5.
- 2365-6 *Na Mata.* April-May, 1909.
- 2367 *Montana High School Debating League.*
- 2368 *Register*—University of Montana. 1907-8.
- 2369 *Some Economic Geology of Montana.*
- 2370 *Archivio*—Società Italiana D'Anthropologia. Vol. xxxviii., 3.
- 2371 *Bulletin*—Bureau of American Ethnology. Vol. xxxiv.
- 2372 *Transactions*—Free Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania Vol. ii., 1.
- 2373 *Memoirs*—Peabody Museum of American Archaeology. Vol. iv. 2.
- 2374-5 *Bulletins*—Société D'Anthropologie de Paris. Vol. ix., 2, 3.
- 2376-81 *La Géographie*—Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris. Vol. xviii. 1-6.
- 2382 *Te Evanelia a Ioane*—(The Gospel of St. John, in Tahitian). Published at Tahiti, 1821.
- 2383 *Te Kawenata Hou*—(The New Testament in Maori.) Printed at Paihia, 1837.
- 2384 *Te Pukapuka inoinga*—(Book of Prayers, etc., etc.) Printed at Sydney, 1838.
- 2385 *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand.* By Samuel Lee. Printed in London, 1820.

Note.—The last four works, which are extremely rare, were presented to the Polynesian Library by the Right Rev. W. L. Williams, D.D., Bishop of Waiapu.

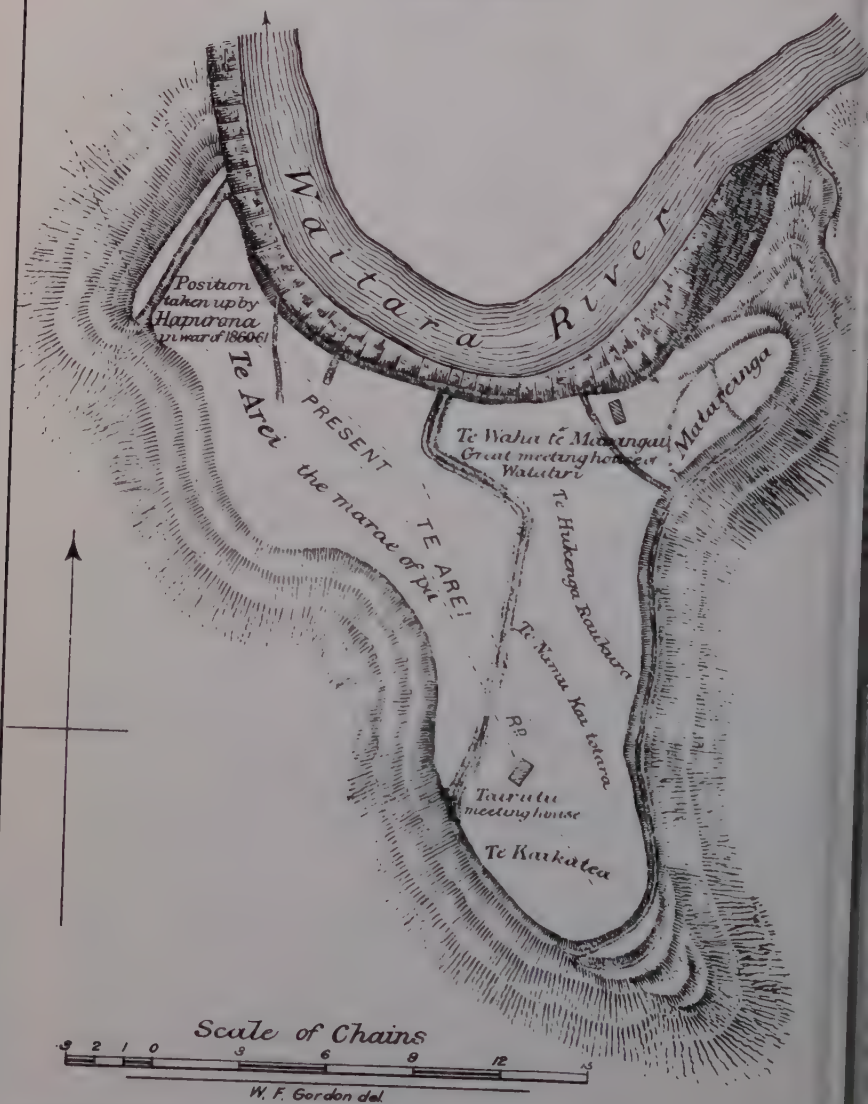
Map No 5

Pukerangiora Pa

Pukerangiora Hapu. Te Ati-Awa Trib

Sketched by W H Skinner

Drawn by W F Gordon



HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF THE TARANAKI COAST.

CHAPTER XIV.—CONTINUED.

TE AMIO-WHENUA.

1821-1822.

EVENTS were crowding on the heels of one another at the end of 1821 so rapidly and so numerous that it is difficult to sustain their sequence in an intelligible manner. Hence it becomes necessary to leave Te Rau-paraha and his people engaged in the work of house building and cultivating at Ure-nui, whilst we describe the doings of a great *taua*, or war-party, of Ngati-Whatua, of Kaipara, under the chiefs Apihai-Te-Kawau (the principal leader), Awa-rua, his son Totara-i-ahua, Te Tinana, Uru-amo, Pa-te-oro, Tama-hiki, and Ha-kawau; Waikato of Waikato under Te Kanawa, Awarua, Rehurehu, and others; Ngati-Tipa of Lower Waikato under Kuku-tai and Tupaea; Ngati-Mania-poto under the veterans Tu-korehu and Pura; a few of Ngati-Maru and Ngati-Paoa of the Thames under Te Rau-roha; and also a few of Te Arawa. This expedition numbered, all told, six hundred warriors and was called “Amio-whenua,” or “round about the land.”

The early part of this expedition is fully detailed in “Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes,” p. 93, *et seq.*, but it has nothing to do with the West Coast history, of which we are now treating. The latter part, however, is very intimately connected with Taranaki. After passing through Roto-rua, Hawkes Bay, and Wairarapa, the *taua* came out on to Cook’s Straits at Port Nicholson.

The news of the expedition, however, had preceded it all along the coast, so that when the *taua* reached Cook’s Straits they found nothing but empty *pas*, or, more likely, villages, for there are few *pas* along the southern coasts. The Mua-upoko of Otaki, Waikanae, etc., and Rangitane of Manawa-tu, etc., had nearly all taken refuge on Kapiti Island, thus leaving no canoes by which the *taua* could get at them. No doubt, these people had no very pleasant recollection of the last northern raid under Tu-whare, Patu-one and Te Rau-paraha in

1819-20 (see Chapter XII.) No one was found at Porirua, but a few refugees were discovered at Horo-whenua safely ensconced in the island *pas* on the lake, at whom the *taua* were obliged to look in vain, for they had no canoes by which to reach them.

WAI-KOTERO.

I am obliged to Mr. T. W. Downes for one or two incidents connected with the doings of this expedition which are not generally known. His information is from the late Major Kēpa Te Rangi-hiwi-nui, and therefore should be reliable. "Whilst the *taua* was in the neighbourhood of Horo-whenua," says the Major, "they came on to Otaki, then Horo-whenua, and my father's* place—probably at Papa-i-tongga lake—where they surrounded the *pa*. Our people were very few in number here; so my father sent out messengers to the other members of the tribe, calling on them to come to his assistance and make an attack on the invaders at night. But this message was disregarded and no one came. Determined to try and alarm the enemy and force their retreat, he went forth with two companions and thus almost single handed attacked this great *taua* in the night. They were all three eventually captured, but not until several of the enemy had fallen under their spears. When my father was captured he raised his voice as loud as the loud thunders, and the women of our tribe, hearing his call, came down the river in a canoe, shouting and making as much noise as if a large war-party was approaching. The invaders, thinking they were about to be attacked in great numbers, decided to decamp, which they did in the night, leaving their dead behind them. In the confusion my father escaped back to his own people. This fight was called Wai-kotero."

The *taua* continued its way up the West Coast to Whanganui, where the local tribes were met with, and a fight took place on an island in the river, called by my informant, old Ereatara of Ngati-Whatua, Te Manuka. The *taua* was victorious, but only after a hard struggle. This fight, it ought to be stated, is not known locally.

MANGA-TOA.

Mr. Downes also supplies the following from the same source as last quoted: In the neighbourhood of Whanganui, "at Mangawero (or Upoko-poito, some twenty miles below Mangatoa) the *taua*, under Tu-korehu and Te Wiwi, came upon and killed some brothers of Te Anaua (later known as Hori-Kingi), and captured a woman named Korako, mother of Hakaraia. The latter was a small child at the time and thus escaped. In revenge for this, Hori-Kingi gathered his tribesmen together and followed one portion of the *taua*, which had

* Kēpa's father was Tungia; his mother, Rere-omaki; connected with the Mua-upoko tribe.

gone up the Whanganui river and came upon and defeated them at Mangatoa, a place about two to three miles seaward of the modern village of Koroniti (Corinth), on the east side of the river. Hakaraia's mother, when captured, pleaded for her own life and that of her child, promising that if allowed to live she would lead the party to a place where her brothers and other people were, and that she would give them a large quantity of greenstone, which was hidden away. This was agreed to ; so she guided the party up the river till they reached Te Punga (another name for Te Arero-o-te-uru, at Mangatoa), where they all landed and left the canoes. She led them on into a deep gorge on the Mangatoa, hemmed in by perpendicular cliffs, and out of which there is no escape except up or down the stream, but which widened out at one spot in the middle, where the *taua* was advised to camp, as it was just about night. Korako managed, as soon as it was dark, to creep away unseen, and then made all speed to her own people, some of whom were living not far from the cliffs above, whilst others had been following up the party from behind. Thus the invaders were in a trap, and when the time came, though those of Whanganui in the rear of the *taua* were only few in number, they were strong enough to hold the pass, whilst the other local people held the upper end. After a great battle only six people managed to escape out of the six hundred men of the *taua*." I think this number is probably much exaggerated by the local people—for the *taua* was still a large one when it reached Taranaki. Te Wiwi is said to have been killed, whilst Tu-korehu escaped. Who the former was I have no knowledge. This party was, probably, only a branch of the main *taua*.

The following *waiata*, or song, relating to this event, was given to Mr. Downes by an old Ngati-Pa-moana woman named Tauira, but it seems to me that though stated to have been composed at the date of the Amio-whenua expedition, it is more modern :—

Pakipaki tu au i te rau o Mangatoa,
 I mahue au i te tikawe haere i a Nga-Rau,
 Tu ana ahau i te kei o te waka o Te Hekeua,¹
 Hei hoatu i ahau ki Paparoa.²
 Tukutuku i te ia ki Ope-riki³
 Ka kite au i te kopua kanapanapa ki Wai-hakura.
 E ngari moti ana te haere,
 Nga one roa kei Mata-hiwi,⁴
 Takoto ai te marino—
 To reti na, ko te waka o Tainui,⁵
 Hei whakawhiti ki Kai-koura.⁶

I hahae kau aku mata
 Ki te wai-rama na Te Pēhi.⁷
 E Tia ma ! me whakahoki mai
 Te makau ki ahau ;
 Ka eke nei ki Tongariro,

Me whirinaki ki Koinaki,⁸ ki a Te Matoha,⁹
 Ki te mea ra i hoki mai i te kaupuke,
 Ko Rangi-ahua te wahine,
 I rangona ki te hapai pu,
 Ka tataki nei, ka whero.
 Ko tahi te manu o te tau
 He Pipi-wharau-roa,¹⁰
 "Kui, kui, whitiwhiti-ora!"

What wild delight I feel for the defeat at Mangatoa.
 I was left behind when Nga-Rau went forth.
 Would that I stood in the stern of Te Hekeua's¹ canoe,
 To carry me along to the Paparoa² rapids,
 And float away with the currents of Operiki.³
 And there behold the gleaming depths at Wai-hakura.
 But instead were they beaten
 At the long reaches at Mata-hiwi,⁴
 Where smooth waters ever prevail,
 The conveyance was the canoe Tainui,⁵
 With which to cross (the Straits) to Kai-koura.⁶

In vain I score my face in mourning,
 At Te Pēhi's⁷ torch-light march up stream,
 O Tia! thou must return,
 The loved one now departed,
 Who has ascended Tongariro mountain,
 And rests on Koinaki⁸ with Te Matoha—
 With him who by a ship came back.
 Rangi-ahua was the famed woman,
 Who was skilled in the use of the musket.
 There is but one famed bird of the year,
 The Pipi-wharau-roa,¹⁰ who cries,
 Kui! Kui! whitiwhiti-ora!

NOTES.—1. Te Hekeua, head chief of the Uri-o-Hau division of Ngati-Whatua, of Kaipara who accompanied the expedition. 2. Paparoa rapids just above Pipiriki, on the Whanganui river. 3. Operiki, a celebrated old *pa* three-fourths of a mile above Corinth, on the same river. 4. Four miles above Galatea; same river. 5. The celebrated canoe of Waikato. 6. Kai-koura is sometime used as a name for the South Island. 7. Te Pēhi, a celebrated chief of Whanganui. 8. A place near Tongariro. 9. Te Matoha is said to have gone to Sydney to fetch muskets. 10. The little Shiny Cuckoo, whose note is given in the last line.

After these events the *taua* passed through the thickly-inhabited districts of Patea and Taranaki, but what success they had against the people of those parts is unknown—the probability is that many of them fled to the fastnesses of the forest to escape a repetition of their suffering from previous northern war-parties, though Watene Taungatara says they first fought the northern *taua* in a battle, which was long undecided as to the victory—and that many *pas* were taken.

We next hear of the expedition at Waitara, where the Ati-Awa successfully opposed their further progress towards their homes. I

what follows, Mr. W. H. Skinner will be quoted, for no one has obtained so much information about this period, which he has carefully checked from the statements of some of the old men of Ati-Awa, to wit: Te Watene Taungatara, Rona, Whati-tiri, Rameka Te Ami, Tommy Watson, late *tohunga* of Kairau, and others.

“Amongst the numerous raids that were organised by the northern tribes against the people of Taranaki and Cook’s Straits districts was one led by Tu-korehu, or Pehi-korehu, of the Ngati-Mania-poto tribe. This great fighting chief left Mangatoatoa *pa*, on the Waipa river, about the middle of the year 1820 with a force of one hundred and forty warriors” (in addition to the others mentioned above, making in all about six hundred men). . . . “They eventually reached the *pa* of Rewarewa, at the mouth of the Wai-whakaiho river, north bank, where they remained for a while. Tautara, the *ariki* and principal chief of the Ati-Awa, was at this time living at Rewarewa, though his home was at Puketapu *pa*, a few miles further north.” The intercourse with Ati-Awa seems to have been friendly, but it is clear from what follows that Tautara was not much enamoured of his guests and was glad to avail himself of any means for their destruction. Watene Taungatara says: “There was a great division in Ati-Awa; those to the north of Waitara determining to fight, whilst those to the south decided to help them—*i.e.*, Nga-Motu, Puke-tapu, and Puke-rangiora.” To this end, “he sent messengers to the *hapus* of Ati-Awa living further north with directions to the effect that Tu-korehu and his companions were to be attacked after they had crossed the Waitara river. But Huri-whenua, of Ngati-Rahiri” (whom we have seen as the defender of Te Taniwha *pa* in 1818) “would not agree to this, but desired to attack the enemy at once. So he went with his people, numbering eight hundred, to Te Rohutu, at the mouth of the Waitara, north bank, and there awaited the approach of Tu-korehu’s party.

“But why this sudden change on the part of Ati-Awa? Several other expeditions of the same northern people had passed through this country and had been well received, while numbers of Ati-Awa had joined them and gone forth to murder and plunder—in fact, they had been as one people. But the reason is not far to seek. We find it in the presence in the district of that great chief Te Rau-paraha, leader of Ngati-Toa—now just starting on that path of conquest which made his name in after years a terror to both Europeans and Maoris alike—who was just removing his people from Kawhia and was then at Ure-nui. . . . Ngati-Toa were waiting in that district to harvest the crops they had planted on their arrival, so as to provide food for the next stage of their journey towards Otaki and Kapiti. Te Rau-paraha wished to be revenged on Ngati-Mania-poto” (of whom Tu-korehu was one of the principal chiefs), “but did not care just then to run the risk unaided. If he could incite the Ati-Awa to attack Tu-korehu and

his party, they would thus be drawn into the quarrel and lend their aid to attain his ends. By means of plotting and deceit he succeeded in rousing Te Ati-Awa—or the greater part of them—to take up his quarrel.

"As stated previously, an ambuscade of eight hundred men of Te Ati-Awa, awaited on the north bank of the Waitara the crossing of the returning war-party. The plan arranged was to allow part of the force under Tu-korehu to cross the river and then to rush in and divide them, and subsequently to fall on the parts separately. But this plan was frustrated by the watchfulness of the scouts. A small number of men crossed the Waitara in advance of the main body to spy out the land, for they expected trouble, and had been warned by certain of the Ati-Awa as to what they might expect. It was early dawn, and when within a few yards of the northern bank of the river the most advanced scout saw the shadow of a man moving on the surface of the water. He paused; then seeing other shadows, or reflections, he turned and gave the alarm to those behind. Seeing their ambuscade had been discovered, Pokai-tara, the possessor of the only gun* amongst the Ati-Awa, fired his piece and killed one of Tu-korehu's men. The frustrated *taua* now gave up the idea of crossing the Waitara, and retreated inland for about a mile along the west bank of the river and took up a position on Puke-kohe, an old *pa* overlooking and to the north-west of the present Railway Station. This was subsequently the headquarters of the Imperial troops at Waitara during the war with the Maoris in 1860-61. One account says that Ati-Awa attacked the *taua* here, which, getting the worse of it, retreated further inland. Another account says that the Ati-Awa, seeing the position Tu-korehu had taken up, decided to cross the river and give them battle. Accordingly, Tau-tara brought their forces over; but Tu-korehu did not wait to meet them. He retreated to Nga-puke-turua—the old *pa* on the hillocks close to Mahoe-tahi and half a mile north-east from Sentry Hill Railway Station; the inland side of the main road.†

* It is difficult at this date to determine when Te Ati-Awa procured their first guns. But I was told in 1894 by Te Rawaho that Te Puhi-rawaho, of the Ngati-Amaru tribe of Lower Waikato, brought the first gun to Nga-Motu, which he obtained from the "Tini-pakete" ("Sydney Packet"). He came down in the vessel on a trading trip to the Ngati-Ruanui country—i.e., Patea, etc., and then returned overland to Waitara, where he married a woman of Te Ati-Awa, and gave his musket to his wife's people. The "Sydney Packet," he says, was lost on his return voyage. In the times of Te Whare-pouri the people of Nga-Motu got their second gun, which they named "Ruku-moana," because they had to dive for it. Puhi-rawaho also obtained a small cannon from the same ship, which was in the sixties used against H.M. forces at Rangiriri. The "Sydney Packet" (if the same) was lost at Moeraki, Otago, in July, 1837.

† Plate No. 8 shows the two hillocks that are known as Nga-puke-turua, and Map No. 2 shows all the localities mentioned in this part of the narrative.

NGA-PUKE-TURUA.

Here the *taua* was immediately surrounded by thousands of the Ati-Awa, now thoroughly aroused by the machinations of Te Rau-paraha. Rangi-pito's account given to me is to the effect that on the arrival of the *taua* at Nga-puke-turua, they found it occupied by some of the Puke-tapu *hapu* of Ati-Awa. The place was at once attacked, and after firing several volleys into it, killing a good many of its inhabitants, they took it. Ati-Awa had only their *rakau-Maori*, or native weapons, so could not get at the enemy. Seeing the probability of the *pa* being taken, the inmates decided to escape; they made a gallant dash for life and succeeded in breaking through the ranks of their enemies and joining their fellow tribesmen from Waitara. The Amio-whenua expedition now occupied the *pa* abandoned by Ati-Awa, but had not done so very long before the force from Waitara was seen approaching. The invaders were now in their turn besieged by Ati-Awa.

Mr. Skinner continues: "That same day, or early next morning, a desperate fight took place (outside the *pa*). Both parties lost heavily; the northern *taua* losing fifty-two, amongst whom were five chiefs of note—Mahia, Kapa, Here-puku, Hape, and Takinga. These losses, no doubt, included those killed in attempting to cross the Waitara, and the subsequent retreat on Puke-kohe and Nga-puke-turua; in both of these latter cases the *taua* was very roughly handled. Rameka Te Ami says the *taua* had only one gun, which was the property of Te Totara-i-ahua of Ngati-Whatua, and with this he shot four of the Ati-Awa. An accident to the gun then happening, it was of no more use."

Now it may be true that Ngati-Whatua had only one musket, but I think it unlikely, and certainly there were a number of fire-arms in the party.* The losses of the Ati-Awa in this affair do not appear. "The Ati-Awa leaders were: 'Tau-tara of Puke-tapu, Huri-whenua of Ngati-Rahiri, and Rangi-wahia of Ngati-Mutunga, who appears to have been the leading man in this and the following events."

"Ati-Awa appear to have suffered a good deal in this affair, which is called Aro-hoa, for they did not take advantage of their success. Toi-roa of Ngati-Mania-poto says that Ati-Awa were afraid of Tu-korehu in an open, stand-up fight. His weapon was a *pou-whenua*, of such size

* The first gun possessed by Ngati-Whatua was captured from Nga-Puhi, when the latter tribe attacked Tau-hinu *pa*, on the Wai-te-mata, Auckland, situated at the junction of the Paremoremo Creek. As they had no ammunition, the gun was of no use to them. Totara-i-ahua, mentioned above, was the chief of Tau-hinu *pa*. About 1820-21 he obtained a second musket from some vessel at Coromandel, and there learnt how to use it. This gun was named "Hu-teretere," and is probably the one mentioned above.—See "Wars, North and South," p. 234.

that it took two ordinary men to yield it! He was a man of gigantic stature and a great *toa*, or warrior," as is proved by his many expeditions to various parts of the North Island, in nearly all of which he was successful. Watene Taungatara says, "After the northern *taua* had occupied the *pa* and on the arrival of the Ati-Awa forces from Waitara the besieged made a sortie, and a fierce battle ensued, in which the guns of the northern people created much havoc, twenty men of Ati-Awa being killed, which gladdened the hearts of the *taua*. After this, the northern people went towards another party of Ati-Awa which was lying in reserve under Huri-whenua, Towhia, Manu-kinohi, and Topa-ki-Waikato. This party waited until Tu-korehu's party were right on them, and, suddenly springing up, fell on the latter with such fierceness that twenty-five men were killed in a very short time. During this fight, a single combat took place between Te Tupe-o-Tu of Ati-Awa and Tu-korehu, a chief of the northern *taua*. They were both armed with Maori weapons alone—the former with a long-handled tomahawk, the latter with a *patu-kohatu* (stone club). They were so equally matched that neither could force the guard of the other, and finally both withdrew with their respective parties. Tu-korehu was an immense man—there is no one of this generation to equal him."

Mr. Skinner continues: "The same authority says the Ati-Awa in thousands camped down around the beleaguered *pa* after the repulse, satisfying themselves with the cutting off of all supplies and by that means hoping to starve the *taua* into submission. But the necessity for this never arose, as subsequent events will show."

"The case of the *taua* was indeed a desperate one—a small body of men surrounded by an enemy outnumbering them by nearly ten to one; in a strange country and cut off from food supplies, beyond what they found in the *pa*, and quite beyond any hope of assistance from their own tribes. Although practically at the mercy of their enemies—for starvation must soon have ended their troubles—the *taua* does not seem to have shown any sign of fear. Putting a bold face on the matter, the second day and night after their occupation of Nga-puke-turua was spent by them in singing *waiatas* (songs) and dancing *hakas*—done, no doubt, to deceive the enemy and hide their losses."

"As stated previously, there was a section of Ati-Awa that was adverse to the action taken by the bulk of the tribe in attacking the *taua*, and it was some of these people who warned them of the proposed ambuscade at Waitara. Amongst those who sympathized with the northern people (possibly through relationship, more or less distant) were the principal chiefs of the great Puke-rangi-ora *pa*, situated three miles inland of Nga-puke-turua: Whatitiri (the elder, father of Mahau), Pekapeka, Ngata, and Te Morehu; together with the whole

of their *hapu* (Puke-rangi-ora),* with Koro-tiwha, Te Iho-o-te-rangi, and Whakaruru, and a few of the Puke-tapu *hapu*. In the words of Whatitiri, nephew of Whatitiri, senior, the present head of Puke-rangi-ora *hapu*: 'Their fathers were sad at the thought of these *toas* being shut in without escape and nothing but death before them, and so their hearts went out to them.'

There were probably other reasons, which have not come down to us, that caused this change in the feelings of the local people and the ensuing division amongst them. Rangi-pito says: "Several of the chiefs of the Puke-tapu branch of Ati-Awa, as well as some of Ngati-Rahiri † of Northern Waitara, were engaged in the siege, and, as provisions fell short within the *pa*, the besiegers (*Ka whai koha e ratou ki a Waikato*) became possessed with a feeling of generosity (or pity) towards Waikato. Negotiations ensued and then Te Manu-tohe-roa of Puke-tapu, springing into the midst of Tu-korehu's warriors, caused all fighting to cease. . . ."

Mr. Skinner continues, "It was at once decided to help Tu-korehu to escape from Nga-puke-turua to their own great *pa* of Puke-rangi-ora, the great fighting *pa* of all Ati-Awa. Their scheme was made known secretly to the northern *taua* and the following night or early dawn was fixed upon for the time to evacuate Nga-puke-turua. Some time during the night, Whati-tiri and Tai-ariki of Puke-rangi-ora came down from their *pa* with about thirty of their people, accompanied by a number of young women. They came by way of Manu-tahi (Lepperton) and Te Morere (Sentry Hill). Approaching the neighbourhood of Nga-puke-turua in the dark, the women commenced a *haka*, accompanied by a *ngeri*, or war-dance, on the part of the men. As this reached the ears of the rest of Ati-Awa, Rangi-wahia and the men fell in to receive the enemy, but soon recognising the Puke-rangi-ora people they at once started a war-dance on their part. The women continued their *hakas* in order to attract the rest of Ati-Awa, and thus allow of Tu-korehu and his people to effect their escape. With the same object these latter people had been holding *hakas* all the night, and thus between them Rangi-wahia and his people were thrown off their guard."

* The Puke-rangi-ora *hapu* takes its name from the *pa*. It is said to be the *rangatira hapu* of Te Ati-Awa, i.e., the *hapu* whose chiefs were the principal men of all Te Ati-Awa, and whose original home—and the head-quarters of the *hapu*, where their meetings took place, and where was the principal *tuāhu*—was at Okawa, a little way inland from the Puke-rangi-ora *pa*. They, at any rate, have the longest pedigree of any of Te Ati-Awa, as may be seen in Table No. 1.

† Te Awataia, in his brief account—A.H.M., Vol. VI., p. 2—also says it was Ngati-Rahiri who took the *taua* to Puke-rangi-ora. He also gives the following names of chiefs who were befriending Waikato: Te Manu-toha-roa, Raua-ki-tua, Tau-tara, and Matatoru.

“Whatitiri and his party from Puke-rangi-ora had approached Nga-puke-turua on the side away from that on which the most direct way led to Puke-rangi-ora, thus leaving it open for the escape, by attracting the Ati-Awa, who guarded that side, to witness the *hakas*, which took place on a flat piece of ground to the south-west of the *pa*. When the proper time came, Tu-korehu and his party took advantage of the absence of all guards on the south side of the *pa* and evacuated the place, and struck off by the track leading to Puke-rangi-ora, crossing the Wai-o-ngana river at Kai-puku—the present ford on the Kairau road—then skirting the clump of bush on the same road, called Repo-roa, and then along Te Arei road to the sheltering protection of the fortifications of Puke-rangi-ora *pa*.”

“Whatitiri and his party, in the meantime, had kept the *hakas* going until such time as it was considered would allow Tu-korehu to be well on his way. Having accomplished this, they then withdrew in all haste, some along the track Tu-korehu had taken, others, apparently, by the way they had come. Daylight was now approaching, and the fact of the northern *taua* having escaped was soon evident to Ati-Awa. The party of Tu-korehu, with their rear guard of Whatitiri's people, had barely reached the *pa* and made all secure when Rangi-wahia and his host made their appearance. Whatitiri and the other chiefs of Puke-rangi-ora now told the Ati-Awa chiefs that they had taken the *taua* under their protection. This caused a furious altercation between the two parties, and Rangi-wahia, who seems to have had an implacable hatred of Tu-korehu, said, ‘If I could get at Tu-korehu I would make short work of him, and strike him on the nose’—adding an insulting expression which was never forgotten or forgiven, and Ati-Awa paid dearly for it in after years.”

It is not difficult to understand the bitterness of Rangi-wahia against Tu-korehu, for, closely as the former's tribe, Ngati-Mutunga, is connected with Ngati-Tama, the losses of the latter at Tihi-Manuka, Pāra-rewa, and other places recently by Tu-korehu's tribe, Ngati-Mania-poto, would easily account for it.

PUKE-RANGI-ORA (RAIHE-POAKA).

First Siege, 1821-22.

So Ati-Awa determined, if possible, to secure the deaths of the Amio-whenua *taua*, and with them some of the Puke-rangi-ora *hapu* which had just deprived them of their prey, sat down to besiege the *pa*.

Mr. Skinner says, “The following *hapus* of Ati-Awa took part in the ‘Raihe-poaka’: Otaraua, Manu-korihi, Kai-tangata, of Waitara the people of Te Taniwha *pa* (Ngati-Rahiri); the people from Ure-nui Okoki, Arapawa, Whaka-rewa, Otu-matua (Ngati-Mutunga); Puke aruhe, Katikati-aka, Pa-tangata, Omaha, Te Kawau (Ngati-Tama) Otaka *pa* (Nga-Motu); and Puke-tapu, of Puke-tapu” (part of them

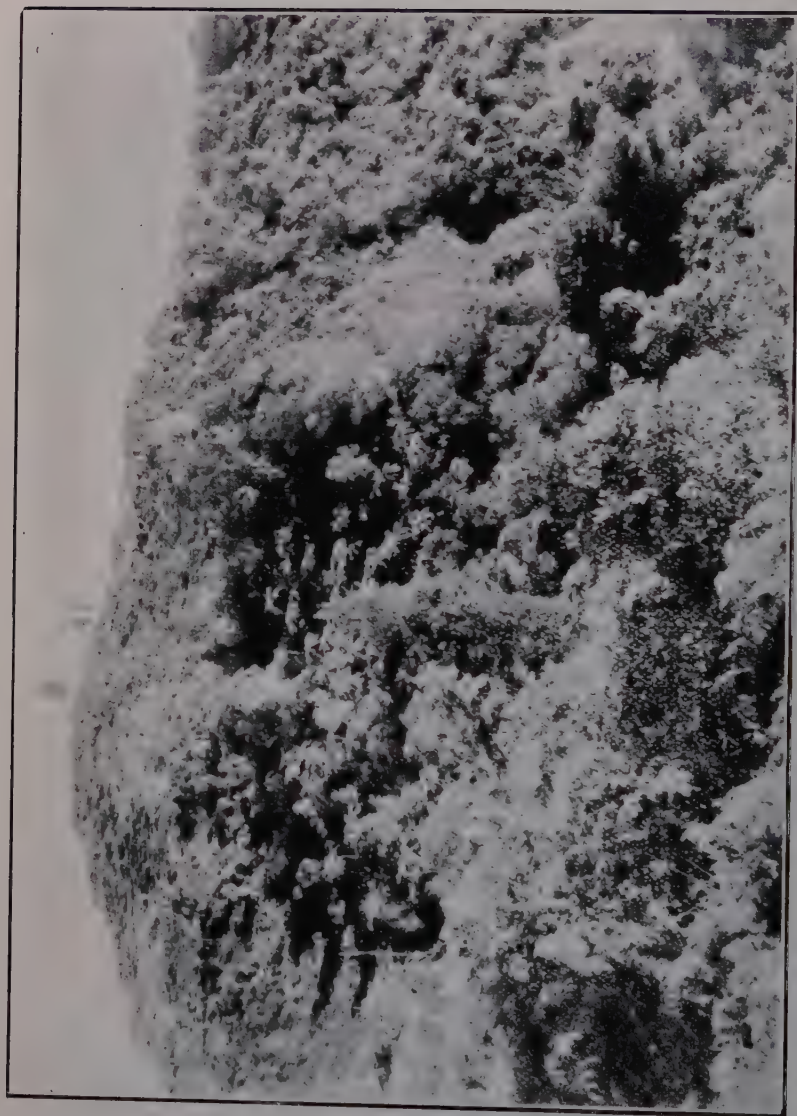


Photo. by M. Crompton-Smith.

probably). Watene Taungatara says that Te Rau-paraha and some of Ngati-Toa also assisted at the siege, but this is the only authority who does so. He also gives the names of some of those chiefs of Ati-Awa who assisted the northern *taua*: Tautara, Raua-ki-tua, Nga-tata, Te Rangi-tu-matatoru, Te Whare-pouri, Te Puke-ki-Mahu-rangi, and Te Puni; all of the Nga-Motu *hapu* of the Ati-Awa people—some were on one side, some on the other—for instance: Te Manu-tohe-roa himself remained neutral, whilst many of his people joined the northern *taua*. There were most, if not all, of the Puke-rangi-ora people under Te Morehu engaged there. There were sixteen hundred people (? including the six hundred of the *taua*) within the *pa*.”

“The besieging Ati-Awa now set to work and built an outer palisading and earthworks around Puke-rangi-ora, and closely pressed the inmates, besides cutting off all communications and food supplies. This shutting up the garrison within the *pa* gave rise to the name the siege is generally known by, ‘Raihe-poaka,’ or ‘the pigsty.’ This was adding insult to injury.” . . .

The Puke-rangi-ora *pa* is situated just five and three-quarter miles from the mouth of the Waitara river to the south and west of a sharp bend in the river, on a spur that there comes down from inland, and along which the old Maori track, called Rimu-tauteka, went inland to the country of the Ngati-Maru tribal lands. The cliffs fronting the river are some three hundred feet high and nearly perpendicular.* To the south-east the land falls away in a very steep slope to a little stream, along the flats of which was much of the cultivated land of the people. To the west, the land falls more easily, as it does to the north, and in this direction the spur flattens out, and the part towards the cliffs is strongly fortified by ditch and bank; forming, as it were, a projection from the main line of fortifications, which are on higher ground to the south. This projection is called Te Arai, or, in full, Te Arai-o-Matuku-takotako, which is, in fact, a *whakatau-ki*, or saying, from very ancient times—so ancient that the incident which originally gave rise to it occurred whilst the ancestors of these people were occupying the eastern part of the Fiji group. It means “the obstruction of Matuku-takotako,” and this is how it came to be applied to the place described above: One of the ancestors of these people was named Tu-horo, and when he was a very old man his people neglected him in the matter of food—as, indeed, was not uncommon.

* Plate No. 11 shows the northern face of Puke-rangi-ora *pa*. The terraces, which were formerly palisaded, can be distinguished on the summit, but a large part of the *pa* is invisible from the point where the view was taken. The cliff on the right hand, falling to the Waitara river, is where the garrison jumped over in the second siege in 1831 (see Chapter XVII.) Map No. 5 shows details of the *pa* from Mr. W. H. Skinner’s survey.

When the young women used to come from the cooking houses, marching two and two, each carrying in their hands, outstretched above the shoulder, two little square baskets of food called *kono*, and on state occasions accompanied by a song of welcome, called a *hari tukukū kai*, all the people of the *pa* would arrange themselves in two rows, one on each side, leaving a passage along which the women passed, depositing here and there amongst the family groups the little baskets of food described above. Now Tu-horo, being very old and decrepit, always reached the *tahua kai*, or feeding-place, late, and consequently had to sit at the far end of the *kapa*, or rows of people. Hence it often arose that he either got no food or only the indifferent parts. So he said on one occasion, "These young people offer as much obstruction to food reaching me as did the 'obstruction (*arai*) of Matuku-takotako.'" From this circumstance arises the name of this part of the *pa*, so well known in 1861, when it was occupied by Hapurona in the war against the Europeans, and up to which the sapient General Pratt dug a sap three-fourths of a mile long—and then did not take the position.

The fortifications of this celebrated *pa* are still in fair preservation, and it is to be hoped that, as the land has been recommended for acquisition under "The Preservation of Scenery Act, 1903," it will now have some care devoted to it, or otherwise the cattle will soon destroy it.

To return to Mr. Skinner's account: "For seven long months the northern *taua* was shut up within Puke-rangi-ora. The main body of these people resided in the south-west part of the *pa*, called 'Kai-katea'; but Tu-korehu lived with Whatitiri in the tribal meeting-house, named 'Te Waha-o-te-marangai' (the door of the east). This great house was built within the innermost part of the *pa* and close to the edge of the cliff rising from the Waitara river. It faced towards the north-east and commanded a view of the whole of the Waitara valley, as far seaward as the mouth of the river. From this point, probably, the finest landscape in the whole of the Taranaki district is to be seen at the present day. It must have been, in some senses, still more beautiful at the time of the siege of 1821-22," when the flats on the opposite side of the river were covered with forest, on to which the eye looked down without being able to penetrate the mass of variegated foliage. The grey cliffs below the *pa* are covered with a rich vegetation, amongst which the *mamaku*, or black tree-fern is conspicuous. The beautifully clear and rapid river curving and twisting in its level valley, sometimes running under the grey cliffs at one side, then crossing to the other, enhances the most beautiful views here to be obtained. Inland, the country is still covered with forest as far as the eye can reach, whilst seaward the rich undulating plains with their ever-green pastures of the dairy farms, and homesteads peeping out from the clumps of dark woods surrounding them—the blue sea beyond, and in the extreme

north the bluer hills of Herangi, Tapiri-moko, etc., which stretch their forest-clad length to distant Kawhia—forms a landscape difficult to surpass.

Watene says that no man was allowed to come outside the *pa*; he was killed directly, and that great were the losses on both sides. The besieged had great difficulty in obtaining water, and many were killed in the attempt.

“During the seven months,” says Mr. Skinner, “that the siege lasted, several messengers—seven in all—were despatched at various times to communicate with the tribes of the north and to tell them of the desperate position in which they were placed, and asking immediate assistance. (The first was sent after the siege had endured three months, says Watene.) It is said that when one of these parties was caught the heads were brought back to Puke-rangi-ora, and there exposed on poles so that the besieged might see that they had not escaped the enemy. All these messengers were intercepted and killed except one, who got through to the Waikato country by way of Kete-marae and Whanganui, thence by Taupo and Waipa.” This messenger was Rahi-ora, a young man of the Ngati-Mahanga tribe of Waikato, whose home is about Raglan. On his arrival he communicated with Te Wherowhero, the principal chief of all Waikato, who immediately sent out messengers to the surrounding tribes; and a large party of Waikato, Ngati-Mahuta, Ngati-Haua of Upper Thames, Ngati-Mania-poto, and others at once marched by way of the Mokau river to endeavour to raise the siege and at the same time join the force that had been trying to cut off Te Rau-paraha at Mokau. The junction of these forces had been finally effected—somewhere at Mokau—and thence they came on in a body towards the south.

BATTLE OF TE MOTU-NUI.

1822.

We must for the time leave the Amio-whenua *taua* cooped up in Puke-rangi-ora and return to Te Rau-paraha at his then temporary home at Ure-nui.

The news of the advance of the Waikato *taua* spread rapidly, and it caused a relaxation in the strict leaguer of Puke-rangi-ora, for it drew away a good many of the Ati-Awa people to the neighbourhood of Ure-nui in order to meet this new enemy before a junction could be effected with those in Puke-rangi-ora. Some of the Ngati-Tama from Pou-tama left those parts and retreated to Ure-nui also, but a large party of them under Taringa-kuri were away inland on a foray against Ngati-Uru-numia of Ongarue. “Others,” says Mr. Skinner, “remained in their impregnable forts awaiting events. The death just prior to these events of their two great leaders, Raparapa and Tu-poki, had in a measure disorganised this tribe, for it is certain had they been living

they would have offered battle to the invaders. Having reached Whaka-rewa, the great *pa* on the cliffs at the north end of the Wai-iti beach, three miles south of Puke-aruhe, the *taua* of Waikato managed to send on a messenger to Puke-rangi-ora to inform Tu-korehu of their movements. This news was the salvation of Tu-korehu and his party, for the siege of Puke-rangi-ora was at once (partly) abandoned and the *hapus* of Ati-Awa scattered to protect their different homes and to give battle to the invaders."

The plain of Motu-nui, from which the battle takes its name, lies along the coast between the Ure-nui and Mimi rivers. The sea coast is bounded by perpendicular cliffs * about one hundred and fifty feet high, on top of which are several small *pas* used as fishing places in the old times. To the east of the plain the hills that form the termination of the wooded ranges rise somewhat steeply, and from them run, either to Ure-nui or Mimi, a few little streams, one of which was the rallying ground of the Ati-Awa and Ngati-Toa forces during the battle. On the southern end of one of the spurs running down from the ranges was the celebrated *pa* called Okoki, now covered with wood about fifty or sixty feet high, but in the early years of the nineteenth century it was very strongly fortified with palisades and steep banks, cut out of the solid earth. Immediately under the *pa*, on the south-east side, ran the Ure-nui river, which curved round, making a bend, in which the *pa* stands. The top of the *pa*, which is quite level, is about two hundred feet above the river. There were at least three rows of palisades around the *pa* in former times, erected on the edge of the terraces that had been cut out and levelled so as to admit of house sites. On the southern face of the *pa*, Mr. A. Hamilton and myself estimated that the steep scarfed bank sloping down from the platform on top was at least fifty feet in height. Down the face of this escarpment is a deep artificial cutting about four to six feet wide, leading down from the upmost platform towards the river, which was used as the entrance to the *pa* and the way by which the inhabitants fetched their water. It is so steep that there must have been steps in it originally. It was, no doubt, protected by palisades and would be easily defended. The platform on top is about two hundred yards long by a varying width of from fifty to eighty yards. Here was the site of most of the houses, but all the terraces, which are about ten to fifteen yards wide, would also contain many houses. Altogether, this was one of the strongest *pas* known. It was built originally by the Kekerewai *hapu* of Ngati-Mutunga, whose home, in later days, was the Mimi valley, and by the Ngati-Hine-tuhi *hapu* of the same tribe

* In these grey *papa* cliffs are to be found many fossils and also a few nodules of the brilliant blue clay, called by the Maoris *pukepoto*, which in former times was used as a pigment to paint their faces with. The colour is due, probably, to some form of phosphate of iron.

as a stronghold to which all could flee in time of danger. Ngati-Mutunga was the last tribe to occupy the *pa*, and they were living there when Te Rau-paraha and the Ngati-Toa migration arrived. The chiefs of the *pa* at that time were Whakapaki, Te Awa-roa, Koromiko, and their chief leader Rangi-wahia, whose particular *pa*, however, was Puke-whakamaru, just across the Ure-nui river. These same *hapus* built and owned the *pa* called Ure-nui, on an isolated hill just at the mouth of the river on the north side; Poho-kura, a very strong *pa* on another isolated hill a quarter of a mile to the east of the last; Te Rewa, another strong *pa* just across the river from Poho-kura; Kumara-kai-amō, within the present township of Ure-nui; and Pihanga on the south bank of the river near the mouth, which was occupied by the Native contingent under Captain Good in the middle sixties of the nineteenth century. There are numerous other *pas* in the neighbourhood, but the above are the principal ones that still remain and add so greatly to the interest of the scenery of that picturesque country! Several of these *pas* are shown in Plate No. 7.

It was on the plain at the foot of Okoki that the battle was fought, and from the *pa* the non-combatants could look down and see every movement of the parties engaged. Plate No. 12 shows the level plain of Te Motu-nui where the battle was fought; it is from a photograph by Mr. A. Hamilton, taken from Okoki *pa*.

The Waikato forces, the number of which is somewhat uncertain—the Maori accounts varying from two thousand to six thousand men—were composed of the following tribes:—Ngati-Mahuta of Central Waikato, Ngati-Mahanga, Ngati-Tahinga, Ngati-pou of Lower Waikato, Ngati-Haua of Upper Thames, and Ngati-Mania-poto of Waipa.

The following principal chiefs of the Waikato *taua* are known to have been there:—Te Rau-angaanga, his son Te Wherowhero, principal leader (afterwards King Po-tatau), Hia-kai, Mama, Hore, Te Kahukahu, Korania, Te Ringa-pakoko, Tamihana Te Waharoa (Tarapipipi), Pohepohe, Te Horo, Te Awa-i-taia, Pou-tama, Tu-awhia, Te Kanawa, Te Tumu, Te Puna-toto, and Te Tihi-rahi.

On the other side (Ngati-Toa and Ati-Awa), were:—

Ngati-Toa, under Te Rau-paraha, Rangi-haeata, Te Kete-pane (or Te Oho), Tama-tiwha, and a Nga-Puhi chief named Taki-moana.

Ngati-Mutunga, under Rangi-wahia and those mentioned above as living at Okoki, and Rangi-tokona.

Puke-tapu, under (?) Te Manu-tohe-roa.

Manu-korihi, under Taka-ra-tai and Rere-tawhangawhanga.

Ngati-Rahiri, under Huri-whenua.

Nga-Motu (?) (?) Te Whare-pouri.

Ngati-Tama.

What their numbers were is not known, but from the *hapu*s engaged there must have been a great many.

The Waikato *taua* came on to a place called Waitoetoe, on the south bank of the Mimi, and there made preparations to camp. This place is only two miles from Okoki *pa*, where all the strength of Ati-Awa and Ngati-Toa was gathered. The fires of Waikato as they came along had been seen from Okoki, which commands an extensive view to the north. Rere-tawhangawhanga (father of the notorious W. K. Te Rangi-take), proposed that a party of eighty men should at once be despatched to reconnoitre and find out what Waikato was doing, but Te Rau-paraha thought it would be better to wait until the whole of Ati-Awa had assembled, for some of them were still holding Tu-korehu and the Amio-whenua *taua* in check at Puke-rangi-ora *pa*. Rere' then said to Te Rau-paraha, "*Ma taua te whetu.*"—"Let us obtain the chiefs," meaning, let their party make a dash for it and secure the death of some Waikato chief and all the *éclat* that would be theirs). To this Te Rau-paraha consented, and so after Te Rangi-wahia and the old men had formed a reserve, eighty young and active men of Ngati-Hine-tuhi, under Te Rangi-puahoa, were chosen as a *hunuhunu* (lit. to singe; a party sent in advance to test the metal of the enemy), and they advanced to just above Waitoetoe, where they found Waikato building shelters; a good many of the people being scattered about collecting *toetoe* and other material. Seeing their opportunity, the *hunuhunu* fell on some of these scattered parties and before they knew where they were twenty of Waikato had fallen. But the main party of Waikato were by this time aroused and Te Hiakai shouted out, "*Whakatika! Whakatika!*"—"Arouse! get up!") whilst Māma shouted, "*Te toitoi! Te toitoi!*" (meaning not known) and immediately a large number of the *taua* came after the other party, catching them up as they began to retreat and—says Rangi-pito—killing a great number of them. The main body of Waikato were now drawn in and followed in chase after the fleeing Ngati-Mutunga, many of whom were caught by their pursuers and killed. Whilst the Waikato were thus in full chase, old Te Rau-angaanga, the supreme chief of Waikato, was seated on a hillock in view of the field busily engaged "concealing the stars," or in other words, attempting by the force of his *karakias* to weaken the chiefs of the opposite party so that his own people should easily kill them.

But just before Waikato started on this chase, a heated discussion arose amongst them as to whether they should follow at once on the heels of the retreating scouts. Te Wherowhero was one of these, and he wished to complete the building of their temporary houses first, but Waikato were too excited to stop, now that blood had once been spilled, and he was drawn into the chase. Those who were in favour of staying said, "*Haere ki te mate! Haere ki te mate!*"—"Go on to

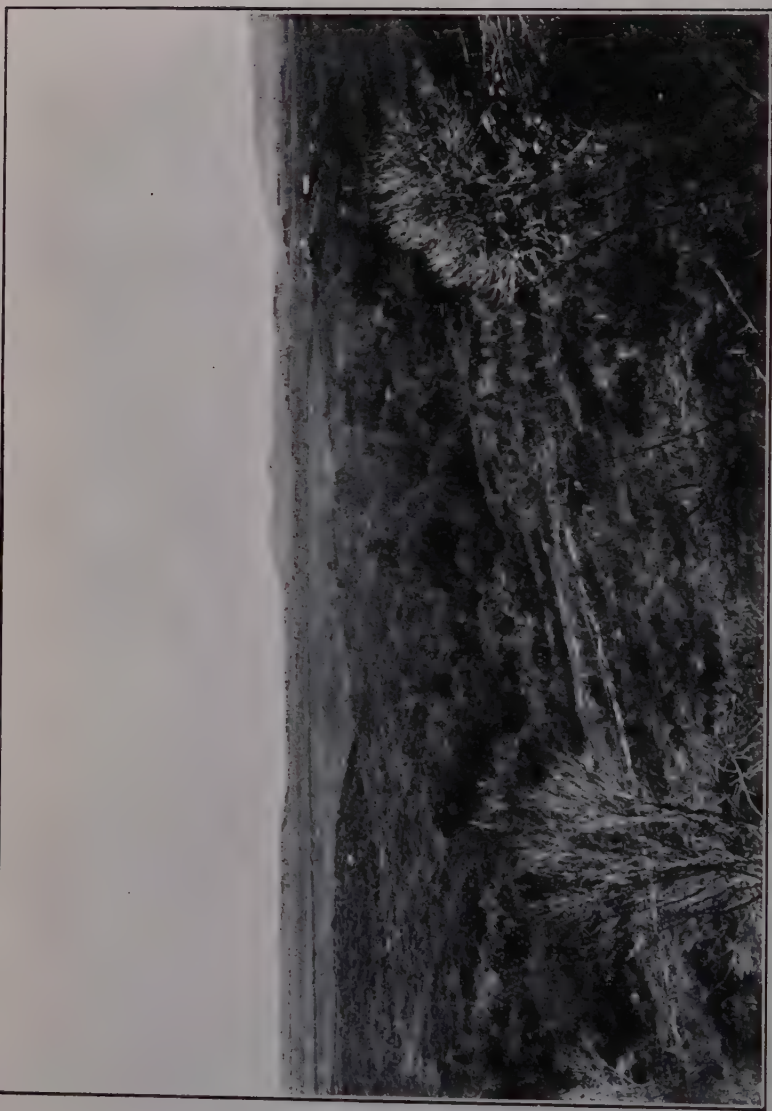


Photo. by A. Hamilton.

PLATE No. 12.

The Moku-mui Battlefield from the foot of Okoki-na looking North.

death! Go on to death!") Others shouted, "*Taria te whita! Taria te whita!*"—"Await the charge!") This division of opinion was considered an evil omen for them. But the final result was that the whole body of Waikato came rushing after their fleeing enemies, the Ngati-Mania-poto taking the lead.

As the northern *taua* came along in full cry, Te Hiakia shouted out to his men, "*Hoea! Hoea te waka! kia rangona ai he parekura, he pa horo!*"—"Paddle! Paddle the canoe! That it may be heard, a battle won, a *pa* taken!") Mr. Shand says (J.P.S., Vol. I., p. 85): "The Ngati-Mutunga and their allies meanwhile had lost several of their men and more were being killed as they quickly retreated towards Okoki. Seeing this, Ketu Te Ropu, who was fleeing with Te Rau-paraha, kept saying to him, 'Turn,' advice which the latter refused to comply with, saying, '*Taihoa, kia eke ki nga kaumatua!*'—('Wait till we reach the old men!') who were in reserve, *i.e.*, Rangi-wahia and others." Te Wherowhero, now as much excited as the others, kept shouting out, "*Kia ngaro nga whetu!*"—"Let the chiefs be killed!") *i.e.*, single them out for death. The pursuit had now continued for some distance—in fact, nearly two miles—and the southern people were nearing their supports, those in advance having been stopped by the veterans at Mangatiti* as they came up and held there; while many of the Waikato were in straggling order and out of wind, and others had stopped to cut up the slain. The remains of the *hunuhunu* had by this time all reached the reserve of veterans under Rangi-wahia at the little stream Mangatiti, about an eighth of a mile from Okoki *pa*, and were taking breath. They waited quietly until the most advanced of Waikato were upon them. This was the opportunity foreseen by Te Rau-paraha. Then Rangi-wahia arising and giving the order, the whole force of Ati-Awa, *ka maka i te whana*, dashed forth in a charge and, attacking the scattered Waikato with their fresh forces, commenced the slaughter, killing at once the leading ranks, amongst whom were the chiefs Hiakai, Hore, Māma, Te Kahukahu, Te Tumu, Korania, and others. Pokai-tara of Ati-Awa was the possessor of a musket, and it was he who secured the *mata-ngohi* (or first fish) by shooting the Waikato chief Te Kahukahu.† The Ati-Awa made four separate charges; at the first charge thirty of Waikato were killed, including Hore—named above; in the second charge forty were killed, together with the chief Te Tumu; at the third charge Māma and thirty others fell; followed in the fourth dash by the death of Te Hiakai, when twenty were killed. Te Hiakai had

* Plate No. 12. shows this gully where the veterans were stationed; it is the wooded gully crossing the picture.

† It is also claimed that Te Matoha of Ngati-Mutunga obtained "the first fish"—considered a very great thing amongst the Maoris.

a musket, the possession of which formed the subject of a contest between two warriors of Ngati-Mutunga, and Te Hiakai would have escaped whilst the others were fighting for it had not another person perceived him in time and killed him. By this time the fleeing Waikato had reached to where Te Wherowhero was stationed with his particular adherents. "At this period the fight was raging fiercely; Te Rau-paraha and his allies were pressing Waikato sorely, and it is alleged that but for the extreme bravery of Te Wherowhero the latter's tribe would have been annihilated. He was pressed very hard, but fought like a lion; many attacked him but paid dearly for their temerity. Puanaki, who died long afterwards in the Chatham Islands, made a blow at him with his *taiaha*, just grazing his forehead. Te Wherowhero replied with a return blow, knocking out one of Puanaki's eyes, but barely escaped a second adversary's *taiaha*, which was intercepted by a branch of a *tutu* shrub." Te Rangi-paki also made a blow at Te Wherowhero, but the latter felled him with his *taiaha*. Te Tohi-maire also attacked the Waikato chief, but was felled by a blow that struck him fair in the face and seriously wounded him. Another warrior, named Piki-whata, now tried conclusions with Te Wherowhero; he was armed with a *pou-whenua*, but was soon placed *hors de combat* by a heavy blow on the shoulder from Te Wherowhero's *taiaha*. Next Te Rangi-tokona attacked the Waikato chief, and as he stooped to make an upward blow with his *taiaha*, received a stroke on the head that disabled him. None, however, of these Ati-Awa warriors were killed right out.

The fight was now nearly over and Waikato were allowed to retreat towards their camp, but not unmolested. "As they were thus hard pressed," says Rangi-pito, "there arrived on the field from Uru-ti (a place up the Mimi valley) a chief of Ngati-Mutunga named Pi-tawa, the elder brother of Taki-rau, who reached the scene of the battle at a place named Te Tarata with a few of his followers, and, attacking Waikato as they retreated, managed to kill six of them. Pi-tawa was noted for his dexterity in the use of the *taiaha*, and on meeting Te Wherowhero in the flight, these celebrated warriors faced one another, each alternately making feints at the other, but neither daring to strike the first blow, well knowing that he who did so and missed his blow would lose his life. Pi-tawa was a man of great influence in the tribe, whose word would not be 'trodden on' or disobeyed by any of the tribe. In this respect he was like Te Puni, whose word was law to his followers."

"The fight continued until evening;" says Mr. Shand, "the Waikato after the second onset being barely able to hold their own. At this juncture a pause occurred, and it is said by some that Te Rangi-tuatea, who had previously allowed Te Rau-paraha a passage from Kawhia—in fact, protected him being related to him, called out, '*E'Raha! he aha*

to *koha ki a maua!*—(‘Te Rau-paraha! what is your generosity to us two?’ meaning to himself and his party; a usual way in which a chief refers to himself and his companions, however numerous, *i.e.*, as ‘we two.’) Te Watene Taungatara also says this speech was made by Te Rangi-tuatea,* but Te Wherowhero is generally accredited with it. Te Rau-paraha, seeing that he and his allies had won the battle, and, no doubt, not wishing to see Waikato annihilated, for he had many connections and relatives amongst the opposing party, shouted out, ‘*E tika ana. Ki te hoki koe ki raro, ma te ara i haere mai nei koe, ka hamama te kauae runga ki te kauae raro. Engari, me ahu koe ki runga, ki Puke-rangi-ora, ka ora koe!*’—(‘It is correct. If you return north by the way you came, the upper jaw will close on the lower. But if you go south to Puke-rangi-ora you will be saved!’) In this reply Te Rau-paraha, by saying ‘it is correct,’ acknowledges that the questioner had a claim on his consideration, and his reference to the ‘upper jaw’ was in allusion to the fact that Taringa-kuri, with nearly all the fighting men of Ngati-Tama, was momentarily expected from inland Mokau, and if Waikato fell in with that party they would probably suffer a very severe defeat, if not extinction. So the advice given was to the effect that the defeated *taua** should go south to Puke-rangi-ora and join the Amio-whenua *taua* still beleaguered in that *pa*, it being of course understood that so far as Te Rau-paraha could do so he would allow the *taua* to pass unmolested. Watene Taungatara expressly says that Te Rau-paraha’s consideration for the beaten *taua* was because Te Rangi-tuatea had helped him to escape from Te Arawi *pa* at Kawhia.

One of my informants tells me the pursuit of Waikato did not end until the fugitives reached Wai-iti, seven miles north of Okoki, but this seems doubtful—it is more probable it ended this side of the Mimi river. Wherever it may have been, it is quite clear that the pride of the great Waikato tribes was completely humbled that day, and they were thankful to be allowed to get quietly away.

Amongst the losses on the Ati-Awa side were Taka-ratai, principal chief of Manu-korihi *hapu* (who, it will be remembered, led the Tu-whare-Te Rau-paraha *taua* to Te Kirikiringa in 1820), Te Mamaru, Te Toea, and others.

Tu-awhea was the first person killed on the Waikato side, by Te Oho of Ngati-Toa. Taki-moana of Nga-Puhi killed Māma, and Te Hiaikai was killed by Whakau of Ati-Awa.

As soon as darkness had set in, the whole of the Waikato *taua* marched southwards, taking the beach wherever possible, and reached the Waitara just at daylight. After crossing they proceeded inland, and finally effected a junction with Tu-korehu’s party within the *pa* at

* It is doubtful if Rangi-tuatea was at Motu-nui at all—see later on.

Puke-rangi-ora; the Ati-Awa, on guard at the place, either letting them through or being afraid to attack them owing to the numbers of Waikato. On arrival, there was a great *tangi* held by both parties on account of their mutual losses.

The Ati-Awa appear not to have been content with Te Rau-paraha's arrangement to allow Waikato to quietly get away to their friends, for they sent a large party from Ure-nui with the intention of stopping them at Waitara, but arrived too late, for at that time Waikato had reached Puke-rangi-ora in safety.

The combined forces of Waikato with those of the Amio-whenua expedition did not stay very long in Puke-rangi-ora, but started away for their homes, travelling by way of the coast, 'neither attacking nor being attacked by Ati-Awa; neither side evidently considering it prudent, and the northern people well pleased to get away,' says Mr. Shand.

Mr. Skinner says, "In this retreat Tautara, Whaitiri, and other chiefs with the Puke-rangi-ora *hapu*, accompanied them as far as Mokau. On leaving Puke-rangi-ora, they crossed the Waitara half a mile below the *pa*, then passing through the Tiko-rangi district on to Onaero and to Pihanga, at the mouth of the Ure-nui, thence by the old Native coast track through the Ngati-Tama country into their own lands at Mokau."

Rangi-pito says, "On the retreat of the combined forces of Te Wherowhero and Tu-korehu, they waited a while at their old camp at Waitoetoe, Mimi, to give Ati-Awa a chance of attacking them again, but they did not do so." Probably, the latter people thought it best to rest on the victory they had obtained rather than risk an engagement with the combined forces of Waikato.

Mr. Shand obtained from Petera Te Puku-atua of Te Arawa tribe the following note as to the doings of the Waikato *taua* as they returned: "As they passed homeward the *taua* met a considerable force of Ngati-Haua (of the Upper Thames) under their great chief Te Waharoa (whose son, W. T. Te Waharoa, was with the Waikato party), then on their way down to Taranaki on a war-like expedition. (Ngati-Haua had not as yet obtained payment for the death of their chief Tai-porutu at the hands of Ngati-Tama.) Te Waharoa endeavoured to persuade Te Wherowhero to return, and with their united forces obtain some compensation for their losses at Motu-nui. But the defeated *taua* had had enough of it—at any rate for the present—and declined the advice. Te Waharoa, however, went on and had a brush with Ati-Awa and got badly beaten. He then returned home." It is not stated where this meeting took place, or where the Ngati-Haua were defeated, or by what section of Te Ati-Awa. Probably, it was Ngati-Tama;

Mr. Shand continues, "On the return of the beaten Waikato to their homes, they were met by Te Rangi-tuatea (he who assisted Te Rau-paraha to escape from Te Arawi), who enquired of them what was the

news from the south. They replied, 'We have been badly beaten at Te Motu-nui and lost all our chiefs without getting any payment for them.' Rangi-tuatea then said, 'Did I not tell you not to follow Ngati-Toa? You persisted in doing so to a far distance. I told you the trail was cold and that you had better return home.'* . . . Te Rangi-tuatea was secretly rejoiced at the discomfort of Waikato." . . . The Waikato *taua* returned to their homes in time to take part in the fighting incident to the fall of Matakītaki, on the Waipa, which event occurred in May, 1822 (see "Maori Wars in the Nineteenth Century.")

Te Motu-nui was a disastrous defeat for Waikato and Ngati-Maniapoto, and, indeed, was the last but one really great battle fought between these northern tribes and the Ati-Awa. It left its effects behind, inasmuch as a strong desire was engendered to obtain revenge for the death of their great chiefs, and several expeditions, which will be recorded in their place, were sent to endeavour to settle accounts with Ati-Awa. But it was not until ten years after that Waikato obtained a decisive victory over Ati-Awa—at the second siege of Puke-rangi-ora in December, 1831. So far as Ngati-Toa is concerned, this victory at Te Motu-nui, by putting a stop for a time to Waikato operations, allowed time for Te Rau-paraha to prepare for the further continuation of his migration.

A few laments for the chiefs who fell at Te Motu-nui have been preserved, which I give below. The first is for Te Hiakai, composed by his wife Te Riu-toto; a lady of high rank:—

E Hia! rongo nui, ki te taha o te rangi,
 Ka whati ra, e, te tara o te marama,
 Taku ate hoki ra, taku piki kotuku,
 Tena te kakahi ka tere ki te tonga,
 I pongipongia koe ki te hau ki a Tu,
 Kei hea tou patu e hoka i te rangi,
 Hei patu whakatipi ki mua ki te upoko,
 Ki te kawē-a-riri.
 Whakahaere ra, na runga o nga hiwi,
 Kia kite Taupo, kia kite Rotorua,
 Kia werohia koe ki te manū kai miro,
 I runga o Titi'.
 Hoki mai E Pa! ki te waka ka tukoki,
 Waiho ki muri nei, ka ru te whenua,
 Ka timu nga tai i roto o Waikato.
 Taku koara te uira i te rangi,
 Whakahoki rua ana na runga o Hakari,
 Ko te tohu o te mate—i—.

TRANSLITERATION.

O Hia! ¹ whose wide-spread fame has reached
 To the far sides of the very heavens.

* This was at Kawhia—see *ante*.

Now for ever art thou broken
 Like the limb of the horned moon,
 Together with my heart. My white heron's plume !
 Thy ivory comb² has drifted away
 And disappeared in the distant south.
 Incited thou wert, and spurred on
 By the spirit of the war-god Tu,
 Where was thy weapon that was wont
 To bestride the very heavens ?
 A weapon that ever in the front did slash
 Before the faces of thy enemies,
 In the excitement of the battle.
 Thy fame ere this has carried been
 Across the ranges standing there ;
 Taupo and Rotorua have felt thy might,
 But now art thou speared like some bird,
 That feeds on the *miros* at Titi'.

Return thee then, O Sir ! to the lost canoe,
 That now in troubled water rocks :⁴
 For after thee the earth will quake—
 The tides of Waikato will ebb away.

The lightning⁵ brought the evil omen,
 When its doubled flashes played
 Around the summits of Hakari-mata⁶ peaks,
 The sure sign to the tribe of coming death.

NOTES.—1. Hia, short for Hiakai. 2. Kakahi, a species of whale, from the bones of which ivory combs were made. 3. Titi is probably Titi-raupenga mountain—a great bird-spearing place. 4. The canoe is used for the tribe. 5. Each tribe had a *rua-koha*, or mountain where the lightning played, and this was a sign of some death in the tribe. 6. Hakari-mata is the name of the range west of the Waipa and Waikato, probably a *rua-koha*.

The following lament alluding to the losses at Te Motu-nui by a Waikato woman, is from Mr. Shand. It is interesting as referring to the fact that ships (or a ship) had visited Nga-Motu before the battle, and hence were some of the muskets used by Ati-Awa :—

He hau no waho i whiua mai ai,
 Te puke i Oropi, i Poi-hakene.
 I maunu atu ai te taniwha i te rua,
 Te puru o Waikato—e—!
 Taku tau i mutua,
 Te wehi o te whenua !
 E Hine a Ngao ! i murua iho ra,
 To mata-whakarewa ki te wai ngarahu,
 Te uhi a Mata-ora.
 Hoki kau mai nei
 Te tangata putohe o te riri,
 Te haere te rongongo me ko Te Rangi-wahia
 Mo nga mate ngaro
 I runga Te Motu-nui—e—

Tikina atu ra nga rāta
 Whakatere kai-puke i runga o Nga-Motu,
 Nau i kumekume,
 Ka u te paura, ka tini te māta,
 Ka moe koutou ki runga o Raki-ura,
 Kia ata whakaputa, te rae i Rangipo,
 Kei pehia koe e te awe o Tongariro,
 Tahuri atu ki tua, te moana Pounamu,
 Tautika te haere ki a Te Rau-paraha,
 Ki' koa tonu mai te wahine Ati-Tama.
 Mo Tupoki ra, mo Raparapa, ra,
 Tenei kei roto.

TRANSLITERATION.

'Twas a favouring breeze from beyond
 That hither drove the ship from Europe,
 Coming from the distant Port Jackson.
 This was the cause that then withdrew
 The famous *taniwha*¹ from its lair.
 O thou! the restraining hand of Waikato!
 O my lover!² now is thy career at an end!
 Thou dread one! whose fame in all lands was heard.
 O Lady of Ngao! his mobile face was decorated
 With the dark-coloured water of *ngarahu*,³
 Skilfully applied with Mata-ora's⁴ magic chisel.

When the struggling men of the fight returned
 They brought no fame.
 To Rangiwahia⁵ alone did this pertain
 Through the losses in sudden death,
 In the south, at Te Motu-nui.
 'Twas he that sought and inducement gave
 To men learned in navigation,
 Who brought to their home at Nga-Motu
 Both powder and balls in plenty.⁶
 Hence ye sleep above at Raki-ura.
 Ye took no care the danger to pass
 At the point of Rangipo,⁷
 Lest ye be overwhelmed in death,
 By the snows of Tongariro.
 When I turn my thoughts to the southern sea,
 I would that my course were direct to Te Rau-paraha.
 Let the women of Ati-Tama then rejoice
 For the valour of Tupoki⁸ and Raparapa,⁸
 As I feel within me now.

NOTES.—1. The withdrawal of a *taniwha* from its lair is emblematical of the death of a great chief. 2. "My lover" refers to the death of Te Hiakai and others. 3. *Ngarahu*, the burnt resinous wood of a pine, from which the tattooing pigment was prepared. 4. Mata-ora, the traditional inventor of tattooing, which operation is done with a chisel-shaped instrument—*te uhi a Mata-ora*. 5. Rangiwahia, chief of Ngati-Mutunga and leader of Ati-Awa at Te Motu-nui battle. 6. This and the preceding lines seems to show that Ati-Awa had at that time (1821-22) obtained muskets from some vessel calling in at Nga-Motu, but it would not have been Rangiwahia who obtained them, but rather Te Whare-pouri or some other of the Nga-Motu chiefs. 7. Rangipo desert at the foot of Tongariro volcano, but probably used as emblematic of death. 8. The two warrior brothers of Ngati-Tama, killed not long before the battle of Te Motu-nui.

Rangi-pito, in the account of the battle of Te Motu-nui which he dictated to Mr. Shand and myself, says that on the night of Waikato's defeat as they rested in their camp, gloomy and sorrowful for the losses of their chiefs, some one started an old lament for the dead, which was taken up by hundreds of voices. In the stillness of the summer night this was heard by their enemies, who, it appears, kept watch at no great distance, until the Waikato *tau*a departed for Puke-rangi-ora. The following is the lament, which is an old one, slightly altered to suit the occasion. Watene says it was sung by Tu-korehu's party when they suffered losses at Nga-Puke-turua, which is likely enough, as the lament is known to many tribes. It was a frequent custom of the Maoris thus to make use of some old song by introducing some fresh words to suit present circumstances. :—

Tangi ra, e toku ihu,
 E waitohu noa nei i te rangi-tahi ;
 He wawara taua pea,
 Tenei ka tata mai wawara-aitu.
 He aroha tangi atu naku ki te mate
 E whakaingoingo mai ra,
 I te tuoro pari ki a Rata.
 Pupuke mahara e—
 I roto i to hine-ngaro
 I ou kainga waiho no'
 Waiho i te ao—
 To whenua kura, ka mania,
 Ka paea te koko i Otangi-moana,
 To putea tātāka kei runga i to ringa
 Wheko turuki ana te wheko
 I a raure moana ;
 Ko koe anake tipao haere
 I runga i nga maunga,
 E to ana i tona waka
 I a Te Kumukumu,
 Ka puta ake ki waho
 Ko nga whakaihu ki Maunga-roa
 He ripa ka mau.
 Kei runga kei te taumata ;
 Titiro ki Rua-wahia, ki Tara-wera
 Ko te mea ia ra,
 I whakakopea mai e Tara-iti
 Ka mau te hu,
 Ka hoki ki te wai-ora, ki te ao.
 Ko te heke ra o Maru-iwi
 I haere ai ki Te Reinga,
 Anā to kai! ko te taringa o Ngatata,
 Nana ano i maka mai ki te kupu
 Ki te muri ki te tonga.
 He ware koia tohuku
 I te paenga tohora,
 I te whakawhitianga i Tumu-tara,

He poa te tau i te kore,
Ka hohoro te pa,
Ka riro mai a Te Rama,
Me aha i te potiki tau-roto waenga,
O Papa-i-whara-nui,
Nana i hohora te whetu, te marama,
Horahia mai'ano kia takoto
I te aio moe rokiroki—e—.

TRANSLITERATION.

Wail aloud then, O my nose !
With itching omen, the live long day,
'Tis the distant sound of battle.
Like some evil omen now approaching
A wail of love from me for the dead,
A low continued cry, it sounds
From the sloping cliff at Rata.
Swell up the thoughts
Within my mind,
For thy abandoned home,
Remaining in this world,
Thy beloved home has passed away,
The strand is covered at Otangi-moana.
Thy weapon from thy hand has fallen,
Extinguished dimly is thy light,
On the wide space of ocean.
Solitary thy spirit wanders,
Here and there upon the mountain,
Dragging with thee, thy heavy load—
A canoe laden with every doubt.
And then thou comest forth,
At the brows of Maunga-roa—
To the bounding line of vision,
On the mountains distant summit.
Look forth ! at Rua-wahia ;² at Tara-wera²
Whence were the forces gathered,
That came with Tara-iti.
Then was the convulsion of defeat,
Back again, to happiness, to the world,
Alas ! 'twas like the headlong flight
Of the hapless people of Maru-iwi³
Passing onward, to Hades and to death.

Behold thy object of revenge !
False Ngatata's ear,
He who spoke with words of guile,
To the people of the north, of the south,
Was the folly then of my doing ?
That caused the death of many chiefs,
At the crossing place at Tamu-tara.
Long was that year of striving
When after many days the fortress fell,
And famed Te Rama⁴ was taken.

What else could be expected from
The famed Papa-i-whara-nui's⁵ descendant,
Who stretched out in death, the stars, the moon,⁶
Spread out again the word
That peace may now prevail
Like tranquil waters.

NOTES.—1. "Putea tataka" ordinarily means a fallen basket; but the reciter says it refers to weapons. 2. The volcanic mountains near Rotorua. 3. Maru-iwi, a tribe driven from Whakatane, which in their flight all disappeared into a chasm near Te Pohue, Napier-Taupo road. 4. Rama is probably the famed *mere*—Rama-apakura. 5. Papa-whara-nui, mother of Tou-hou-rangi, eponymous ancestor of the Tu-hou-rangi branch of Te Arawa. 6. Stars and moon represent the chiefs.

CHAPTER XV.

TE RAU-PARAHA GOES TO ROTO-RUA.

1822.

IT has been said a few pages back that the defeat of Waikato enabled Te Rau-paraha to complete his arrangements for his further migration. His first step in this direction was an endeavour to secure the aid of the Ngati-Raukawa tribe of Maunga-tautari, near Cambridge, and their consent to migrate and join him in his proposed settlement on the shores of Cook's Straits near Kapiti Island. To this end, after making arrangements for his people at Ure-nui, he started on a long journey, going inland from Ure-nui by way of the Upper Waitara and Upper Whanganui on to Taupo, where, at Opepe (later a constabulary station twelve miles from the town of Taupo, on the main road to Napier) he met the assembled Ngati-Raukawa under their principal chief Te Whata-nui. Here the question was discussed, but the tribe was not yet ready to fall in with his views, indeed they tried to persuade him to join them in a war with the people of Hawke's Bay, in which direction Ngati-Raukawa were turning their eyes as a country that might be conquered, and to which they thought of migrating.* Disappointed in his endeavours, Te Rau-paraha went on to Roto-rua and there interviewed Puku-atua, the principal chief of the Ngati-whakaue branch of Te Arawa. Puku-atua, however, did not care to render any assistance; so Te Rau-paraha then visited Tauranga to see the chief of that place, Te Waru, and equally failed to enlist him in the movement for migrating to Cook's Straits. Whilst there, the news arrived of the fall of Te Totara *pa* at the Thames, which was captured by Hongi-Hika, the great Nga-Puhi chief, with great slaughter, in December, 1821. The month previous Hongi had taken Mau-inaina *pa* at the Tamaki (near Panmure), and amongst the slain at both places were some people related to Te Rau-paraha, which greatly incensed him.

Failing in his mission to Te Waru, Te Rau-paraha now returned to Roto-rua and thence on to Roto-kakahi, where the principal people of the Tu-hou-rangi branch of Te Arawa were living in their island *pa* of Motu-tawa. His principal wife, Te Akau, belonged to this tribe. Whilst here, the news came of an expedition of Nga-Puhi under the young chief Te Pae-o-te-rangi, then on his way to attack Te Arawa.

* As a matter of fact Ngati-Raukawa did start for Hawke's Bay immediately after this meeting, and there attacked Te Roto-a-Tara.

Having in mind the death of his relatives mentioned above, Te Rau-paraha incited the Tu-hou-rangi people to destroy this northern *taua*, and then left for Ure-nui by the inland tracks, accompanied by some of the Tu-hou-rangi, who had agreed to cast in their lot with him. His advice bore fruit, for most of the Nga-Puhi *taua* was inveigled into the *pa* at Motu-tawa, where the whole were killed, whilst only a very few of the others escaped to carry back the news to their relatives in the north.*

NGA-PUHI ATTACK PUKE-WHAKAMARU.

1822.

Whilst Te Rau-paraha was absent trying to persuade his kinsmen to join him—in which he eventually succeeded so far as Ngati-Raukawa was concerned, but not until some time after—events were occurring on the west coast, particulars of which are supplied by Watene Taungatara.

Before the battle of Pāra-rewa, and probably with the northern expedition of 1819-1820 already described, Tu-kawe-riri, a chief of Ngati-Mutunga, had made a visit to the Nga-Puhi country for the purpose of obtaining some guns. But before he went he sang a song to his people; which has been handed down to his descendants, in which he expresses his sentiments in the obscure manner so common to songs of that nature, and which the Maoris think so much of—they knowing all the references which we do not, unless explained. It will be remembered that this chief, Tu-kawe-riri, was killed at Para-rewa. The following is his song:—

E muri ahiahi, takoto ki te moenga,
 Nuku mai e Waero kia moe taua,
 Karia e waiho i te whare huri ai,
 He whakaaro ake he waka kei te pine,
 Tokona te tinana ki nuku o te whenua.
 A iri ana i te kei o te waka,
 Nou, na, E Paka! hei kawē i a au,
 Nga tai huri atu ko Hokianga i raro,
 Aru tomokia te whare o Mau-whane,
 He moe po naku e hapai ana ahau,
 Ka urapa pu ki runga ki aku ringa
 Iti toku iti, ka haere aku rongo,
 Te rei a Taoho, te tai ki a Hongi,
 He koha korero kei hoki mai hoki au,
 Whiua te aroha ki te iwi e takoto—o—.

When Tu-kawe-riri returned from his northern visit, there came with him, or shortly after, a distinguished party of Nga-Puhi chiefs from Hokianga on a visit to Ngati-Mutunga, together with a large party of their people. The chiefs were Moetara, Heketoro, Mahu, and

* See "Wars between the Northern and Southern Tribes," where details of all these transactions will be found.

Tapuru. This was a visit of ceremony and friendship, and the visitors were well received by the Ngati-Mutunga people of Te Kaweka, Okoki, and Puke-whakamaru. But Tu-kawe-riri himself, meeting Tu-poki and his war-party on their way north to attack Ngati-Mania-poto, joined them and fell at Pāra-rewa, as has been stated.

Whilst this party was at Ure-nui, there arrived from the north another party of Nga-Puhi under the Hokianga chief Pi (who was afterwards shot in an engagement at Otuihu, near Russell, Bay of Islands, in 1830). The most of Ngati-Mutunga were living in the Puke-whakamaru *pa* at this time, together with Te Rau-paraha's tribe, Ngati-Toa. The usual welcome, or *pohiri*, was accorded to the Nga-Puhi party, and they then entered the *pa*, where the elders on each side made the usual friendly speeches. The burden of the Nga-Puhi speeches, as related by Watene, were, "*E Mara ma! tenei e haere nei; he pai! He pai, E Mara ma!*"—"O Sirs! this coming of ours is in friendship. It is good, O Sirs!") This party stayed one night at Puke-whakamaru, and the next day they moved on to the Waitara river. That same night Nga-Puhi returned on their tracks to Puke-whakamaru, which place they captured by a sudden assault, and took prisoners several women and children, but all the men without exception effected their escape. The other Nga-Puhi party was in the *pa* at the time, and it returned north with Pi and his party very shortly after this affair. Watene says, "Te Ati-Awa did not feel evil towards Nga-Puhi on account of their deceit but continued to entertain Moetara and his people until their return."

This act of treachery on the part of Pi and his party remains unexplained to this day, equally with the forbearance of Ngati-Mutunga in not avenging it. This event occurred in 1822.

TE HEKE TATARAMOA.

1822.

The above, which means "the bramble-bush migration," is the name given to the second part of the Ngati-Toa migration—from Urenui to Kapiti. It is so called on account of the difficulties the party encountered on the way, which the Maoris poetically liken to forcing one's way through the *tataramoa*, or New Zealand bramble. The whole *heke*, or migration from Kawhia to Kapiti, is called "*Te heke mai raro*," or "the migration from the north."

It would be about the end of February or beginning of March, 1822, that Te Rau-paraha returned to Ure-nui, at which time the *kumaras* and potatoes would be harvested, which were required to serve the party as provisions on their further journey, though they could not carry a great deal. They would eke out their fare with fern-root and the stores

they might plunder on the way, besides the men they might kill.* They possessed potatoes, for it is well known that Ngati-Toa introduced them to the south of the North Island. It was not very long after Te Rau-paraha's return that the party started. The Ngati-Toa would still be about the same number as left Kawhia, but they were joined by a party of Ngati-Tama under Te Puoho,† who had found that the constant incursions of Waikato and the losses of his own tribe of late made Pou-tama an unsafe place to live in. But all the tribe did not leave at this time. The fighting Ngati-Tama would be a very welcome addition to Te Rau-paraha's force. There were also a few of the Puke-tapu people under a chief named Te Whaka-paheke, some of Ngati-Mutungara, and some of Ngati-Rahiri—under their chiefs Tu-mokemoke, Te Pakai-ahi, Kawe, Kohiwi, and Ngatata; besides a few of Manu-korihi.

The journey before the *heke* was a long one—some two hundred and fifty miles—and through an enemy's country all the way. Hampered as the party was by old people, women, and children of all ages, it must have taken them at least a month, traversing the country by the native tracks. Every precaution would have been taken by the wary chief of Ngati-Toa to prevent surprise, and there are indications that they generally moved circumspectly, not unnecessarily embroiling themselves with the inhabitants of the districts they passed through. It is believed the *heke* travelled from Waitara by the Whakaahu-rangi, or inland track. This, no doubt, was selected from the fact of there being no inhabitants until the path came out of the forest near the present town of Normanby. The party then passed through the Ngati-Ruanui country to Patea and on to the Nga-Rauru territories without any fighting, so far as is known.

Here, however, some of their troubles commenced. The party occupied the Ihu-puku *pa*, which is situated on an isolated hill about one-eighth of a mile seaward of the railway bridge over the Wai-totara river and immediately overlooking the river. Possibly the Nga-Rauru people had abandoned the place on the approach of such a large party of warriors, dreading—what to them was nothing new—the ruthlessness of a *taua* on the march. From here a party of five men were sent inland to find the Nga-Rauru people and to try and get some food from them. Some, but not all, of Nga-Rauru were hostile to the visitors, and this party seeking food came upon some of the unfriendly members of the tribe. On meeting, the Ngati-Toa attempted to claim relationship with

* The *kumaras* used on their lengthy journeys were dried in the sun, and then became somewhat tough and also sweet; they would not carry far in their natural state. This dried *kumara* was called *kao*.

† Te Puoho did not stay long with Te Rau-paraha at Kapiti, but returned to Taranaki with his brother Te Rangi-taka-roro and a party of Ngati-Tama, but joined the second migration (called “Niho-puta”) of Ati-Awa to Kapiti. He was eventually killed near Gore, South Island.

the local people, saying to them, "Are we not all descendants from Mango who married Hiapoto?"—of Nga-Rauru—"Did not Ruaputahanga, the ancestress of many of Ngati-Toa, come from here?" But Nga-Rauru would not acknowledge the relationship or, rather, they found it convenient not to do so just then, for the connection was undoubted, as related in Chapter IX. hereof. Nga-Rauru being many and the Ngati-Toa few, the former set upon their unwelcome visitors, killing Hape, Whatua-te-po, Te Ra-tu-tonu, and another, whilst the fifth emissary escaped by flight to carry the news to Te Rau-paraha. Te Ra-tu-tonu, killed in this affair, was a chief of Nga-Mahanga *hapu* of Taranaki and the husband of the celebrated Tope-ora, Te Rau-paraha's niece, who, it will be remembered, insisted on having Te Ra-tu-tonu as a husband after witnessing his courage in the fight before the *pa* Tapui-nikau.—See Chapter XI.

That is one story; but Mr. Shand got another version of it as follows:—"Hape and his four companions met the Nga-Rauru people, and the chief of the *pa* came forward to welcome them, and proceeded to enlarge on his reason for so doing by saying, 'You are descended from Hiapoto, so am I!' To this Hape replied, 'I do not know that Hiapoto. Hotu-nui * was my ancestor—a man-eating ancestor.' The Nga-Rauru chief, insulted at the connection being disclaimed, or perhaps glad of an excuse to proceed to strong measures, turning to his people sitting behind him, all armed, exclaimed, '*Rauru, E! e kai!*'—('Nga-Rauru! Eat!') A very brief but expressive command fully understood by his fellows.) But the Nga-Rauru chief first of all, however, gave his guests some *karaka* berries to eat, and whilst they were engaged on their meal the local people fell on them and killed them. A small portion of their bodies was eaten and the rest was found there lying in a pool of blood by their friends when they attacked the *pa*."

When Ngati-Toa heard of the fate of their emissaries, they were not long in seeking to avenge them, and the result was that more than one of the Nga-Rauru *pas* were taken; consequently, the migrants had plenty of provisions for the time. I believe Otihoi was one of the *pas* taken by Ngati-Toa.

At Wai-totara the migration appropriated several large canoes belonging to the local people, and for the rest of their journey they were enabled to make use of them to convey some of the old people and children. Tamihana Te Rau-paraha—who wrote an account of his father's doings, characterised by many inaccuracies and, perhaps naturally, a suppression of the many evil deeds of his wily father—says at this time Te Rau-paraha had become exceedingly anxious to

* Hotu-nui, chief priest of "Tai-nui" canoe and ancestor of Ngati-Toa and many other tribes—a brother of Hotu-roa, the captain of the same canoe.

possess capoes, for he had already conceived the idea of crossing Cook's Straits with a view to conquering the people of the South Island.

From Wai-totara the canoes were sent on to Whanganui, whilst the fighting men went overland. Arrived there, they waited some time, but no fighting with the local people is mentioned, so we may suppose the dread of a repetition of the scenes that occurred on Te Rau-paraha's former visit had induced the people to remove up the "*Koura puta roa*," or Crayfishes' long hole—a name given to the Whanganui river from the facility it offers to its inhabitants to escape inland by their canoes. Whilst here, the relatives of Pikinga (a chieftainess of the Ngati-Apa tribe of Rangi-tikei) visited that lady, who had been taken prisoner during Tu-whare's and Te Rau-paraha's expedition in 1819-20, and was now Te Rangi-haeata's wife, and was travelling along with the *heke*. There was diplomacy in this visit, no doubt—Ngati-Apa wished to placate Te Rau-paraha and so save their tribe and lands from devastation. In fact, an agreement had been come to between the Ngati-Apa and the Mua-upoko tribes at a meeting held at Horo-whenua lake, called together by Tohe-riri of the latter tribe as soon as they heard of Te Rau-paraha's arrival at Wai-totara, at which it was decided that overtures should be made to Ngati-Toa to the effect that they should join Mua-upoko and Ngati-Apa, and all live in peace, *noho Maori noa iho*. This was agreed to by the assembled people, and then two messengers—Te Hakeke and Warakiki—were despatched to meet Te Rau-paraha at Whanganui and make this offer. The wily Ngati-Toa chief agreed to this proposal—no doubt with mental reservations, for, as we shall see, the arrangement was very soon broken. Now Ngati-Apa, Mua-upoko, and Whanganui are connected ancestrally and by constant inter-marriage, and it was on hearing of the above proposal that Topia Turoa, a principal chief of Whanganui, refrained from attacking Te Rau-paraha when at Whanganui.

The migration now moved on to Rangi-tikei river,* the two emissaries accompanying them, and by them Ngati-Toa were taken up the river to Te Awa-mate to see Ngati-Apa living there, and with them they stayed some little time. The party then moved on to Te Wharangi, at Manawa-tu river, and here Te Rau-paraha attacked some of the Rangi-tane people and killed several, amongst them a woman of Mua-upoko named Waimai. This greatly incensed the Mua-upoko people, as it was a breach of the arrangement so recently made. A meeting was called at Horo-whenua lake to consider the position, and (apparently) a decision was come to as to the course to be pursued. In the meantime Tohe-riri of Mua-upoko retired to Papa-itonga lake, where there are several little islands, partly artificial, used

* For most of what follows I am indebted to Mr. Elsdon Best's notes, gathered from the Mua-upoko people.

as *pas* at that time by the Mua-upoko people. From here a messenger was despatched to Ngati-Toa inviting them to come on and settle at Wai-kawa (seven miles north of Otaki), which river at that time had one mouth with the Ohau. So the *heke* came on and settled down at a bend in the Wai-kawa river, just above Te Kotahi, which is still known as the *pa* of Te Rau-paraha.

After a time Te Warakihi (one of the emissaries above mentioned) came over from Papa-i-tonga lake to Te Rau-paraha's camp, where he told the latter that he had heard the Mua-opoko people saying that a decision had been come to—*Me patu a Te Rau-paraha*—Te Rau-paraha must be killed. Presumably, this was the decision come to at the Horo-whenua meeting, and all that follows is the working out of that scheme. Te Rau-paraha asked whether there were any canoes on Lake Papa-i-tonga. "Yes," said Warakihi, "there are." Then said Te Rau-paraha, "*Maku ena waka.*"—"Those canoes shall be mine.") After this, Te Warakihi returned to Papa-i-tonga and reported the conversation to Tohe-riri. "He shall have the canoes," said the latter, and sent off Te Warakihi to tell Te Rau-paraha of his decision.

THE MASSACRE AT PAPA-I-TONGA.

1822.

There are several accounts of the massacre of Te Rau-paraha's people at Papa-i-tonga, which little lake lies on the north side of the Ohau river, where Te Rau-paraha had settled down and not far from the sea. Sir W. L. Buller in "Transactions New Zealand Institute," Vol. XXVI., p. 572, supplies one of the best accounts as dictated to him by a Ngati-Raukawa man (now) of those parts; but it makes the mistake of placing the Wai-o-rua fight before the massacre at Papa-i-tonga. Mr. W. T. L. Travers, in Vol. V. of the same publication, in his life of Te Rau-paraha, also describes the incidents—as does Te Rau-paraha's son in Vol. VI. of Mr. John White's "Ancient History of the Maori," from which, indeed, a great deal of Mr. Traver's information is derived—errors and all. But Tamihana Te Rau-paraha has to be read with caution; he is often wrong, and is contradicted over and over again by information obtained by Mr. Shand, Mr. Best, and myself, which was mostly derived from the old men who took part in these scenes. This account generally follows this latter information.

An invitation was now sent by Tohe-riri and his people to Te Rau-paraha to come over and partake of a feast of eels, for which these parts are celebrated. The Mua-upoko, in the meantime, had collected in numbers at a place called Te Wi—lying between Papa-i-tonga and Te Rau-awa (Mr. John Keble's homestead). Te Rangi-haeata (Te Rau-paraha's nephew) appears to have had doubts of the intentions of the Mua-upoko people, but he endeavoured in vain to reason the latter chief out of his determination to go. Nor would Te Rau-paraha take

more than twenty of his people with him, mostly relatives, amongst them some of his daughters. The guests were welcomed by Mua-upoko, amongst whom were the chiefs Tohe-riri, Te Rangi-hiwi-nui (probably a relative of Major Keepa Te Rangi-hiwi-nui, our loyal ally in the Maori war), and Tanguru (the Major's father). After the feast the guests were distributed in several houses, Te Rau-paraha occupying the same one with Tohe-riri. During the night the Mua-upoko assembled, many coming over from Papa-i-tonga, all ready to commence the massacre of their guests. They were all armed with their native weapons for no muskets had reached them at that time. Ngati-Toa do not appear to have had guns either. At the first noise of the people surrounding the houses, Tohe-riri arose and went out of the house. From what follows he appears to have had some scruples at the last about the justification for this treachery. This roused Te Rau-paraha, and just at that moment the voice of Takare was heard shouting out, "*E Raha! ka whati to kaki!*"—"O Raha! your neck will be broken!" Seeing the front of the house crowded with people, Te Rau-paraha went to the far corner, and, it being a *raupo* house, he managed to make an opening and thus got outside, and rushed away to the stream, where he found Te Ra-ka-herea (a connection of his—a son of Te Poa's) with a spear sticking in his back. The two of them now made off the best they could, "*Me te weka ka motu i te mahanga*"—"Like a weka escaped from the snare") and finally reached their camp at Ohau. But it fared differently with the others; when the attack commenced they were all asleep, and it was only when Nga-rangi of Mua-upoko shouted out to Tohe-riri, "*E Tohe E! e! ko to hoa!*"—"O Tohe! look after your companion!") that they roused themselves and rushed out of the house, where a hand to hand encounter took place. But Mua-upoko were too many for them, and they were soon nearly all killed. Te Rangi-hounga-riri, a young man who was Te Rau-paraha's son by his first wife, Marore, was escaping and would have got away, when he heard his sister Te Uira call out to him that she was being murdered. He turned back, and after killing two men was himself knocked on the head. Te Uira's husband, Te Poa, had been killed just before. She herself was killed by Warakihi. In addition to those mentioned above, Poaka, another daughter of Te Rau-paraha's, was killed, whilst Hononga, also his daughter, was taken prisoner. Taiko was another killed there.

Tohe-riri, it is said, was angry that the attack had been made, for what reason is not clear. He, with his particular *hapu*, soon afterward left the west coast and went to Wai-rarapa, where he remained two years, and then came back to Papa-i-tonga and was eventually killed with great barbarity.

The Mua-upoko, though no doubt elated at thus punishing Te Rau-paraha for the death of their kinswoman Waimai at Manawa-tu,

perhaps did not foresee the consequences to themselves of this treacherous act. Te Rau-paraha was not the sort of man to allow such a blow to fall on him without exacting *utu* to the utmost, and in the end Mua-upoko paid dearly for their deeds that night.

Te Rau-paraha lamented his daughter Te Uira as follows :—

Takoto mai E Hine !	Lie thee there, O Lady !
I roto Horo-whenua	Within at Horo-whenua.
Kia kai whakawai	'Twas through foul treachery
Te wahine kiri pango,	Of the black-skinned woman,
Ko te manure ano	And rank foolishness
I riro i a koe	That thou possessed.
Tenei ano te ruru-kai-kiore,	Still lives the rat-eating owl ¹ —
Te kawau horo ika,	The fish-eating cormorant ² —
Te takupu matakana,	The fierce-eyed gannet ³ —
Te Wehi—o—te—whenua—e—i.	The dread of the land ⁴
	(To avenge thy loss).

NOTES.—1, 2, 3, and 4: Terms applied by the composer to himself and expressive of his determination to avenge his daughter's death. *Manure* = *kuare*.

This is not a very elegant effusion for so great an event, but Te Rau-paraha was a diplomatist rather than a poet. Had his niece, Topeora, taken up her muse, the occasion was one which would have given full scope to her great powers of poetic vituperation, but nothing of the kind has been preserved unless, indeed, the following of hers refers to this event :—

Kia kaha E Tipi te hapai patu,	With mighty blows, O Tipi !
Kia riro mai taku kai,	Thy war-like weapon uplift,
Ko Tangaru e tuoho nei,	And hither bring for me to eat,
Te rau hoko-whitu o Mua-upoko,	Tangaru, who in dejection rests
E kai, E Roku ! i te roro piro	With the remaining hundred and forty
O Te Rangi-hiwi-nui,	Of Mua-upoko's diminished strength,
Te kai o te tuna	And thou, O Roku ! thou shalt feast
O tona whenua.	On the rotten, stinking brains
	Of Te Rangi-hiwi-nui,
	Who is only fit for food,
	Of the eels of his own land.

So far as can be made out from the Native accounts this massacre took place in the spring of 1822.

HORO-WHENUA.

1823 (?).

The massacre at Te Wi described above determined Ngati-Toa to put an end to danger from that quarter by exterminating the Mua-upoko people, who, at that time, were a somewhat numerous tribe, but armed only with native weapons. To this end the unfortunate people were hunted down wherever the better armed Ngati-Toa came across them. This went on for some time; how long, it is difficult to say, but not

less than six months. At last the Mua-upoko were so harried in the settlements round about the Lakes Papa-i-tonga and Horo-whenua that they speedily collected at the latter lake and took refuge on several little islands—some of which had been artificially increased in size to make them suitable for erecting houses on. Here the Mua-upoko had several *pas*, all strongly palisaded, but the islands being low and very flat they were not adapted for the usual terraced form of *pa* customary with the Maori. The lake at that time was nearly surrounded with woods, so there would be little difficulty in floating heavy timbers across to build palisades; and its waters teemed with eels, making these islands desirable places of defence against any body of men armed only with native weapons.

I have very few particulars in my notes about the attack made on Horo-whenua by Ngati-Toa and their Ati-Awa allies, and will therefore quote from Mr. Traver's account (already referred to). "Finding themselves unable to check these attacks the Mua-upoko took refuge in lake *pas*, which, however, the Ngati-Toa determined to attack. Their first attempt was on that named Wai-pata, and having no canoes they swam out to it and succeeded in taking it, slaughtering many of the defenders, though the greater number escaped in their canoes to a larger *pa* on the same lake, named Wai-kiekie. This *pa* was occupied in such force by the enemy that the party which had taken Wai-pata felt themselves too weak to assault it, and therefore returned to Ohangai for reinforcements."

"Having gained the necessary assistance they again proceeded to Horo-whenua and attacked Wai-kiekie, using a number of canoes which they had taken at Wai-pata for the purpose of crossing the lake. After a desperate but vain resistance they took the *pa*, slaughtering nearly two hundred of the inhabitants, including women and children, the remainder escaping in their canoes and eventually making their way through the forest ranges to Pae-kakariki, where they ultimately settled (for a time). In the course of these attacks a number of the leading Mua-upoko chiefs were taken prisoners, all of whom except Ratu (? Te Raki), who became the slave of Te Pehi, were killed, and their bodies, as well as those taken in the assault, duly devoured."*

The following account was obtained by Mr. Best from the local people:—"The Mua-upoko now assembled at Horo-whenua and occupied the six inland *pas* of the lake, which are named Wai-pata and Puke-iti, at the south end of the lake; Wai-kiekie and Te Roha-o-te-kawau at the north end, opposite where the Horo-whenua stream runs out; and Te Namu-iti and Karapu in other parts. When the *taua* of Ngati-Toa came on to the attack, part of them proceeded by land, whilst others followed along the coast parallel to them in

* Awa-mate was another of the Mua-upoko *pas* taken at Horo-whenua.

canoes. The canoes were then hauled up the Horo-whenua stream and so into the lake. Directly the Mua-upoko saw the canoes some of them knew their case was hopeless, and crowded into Wai-kiekie *pa*, whilst the women and children were hastily embarked in some of their own canoes and despatched to the forests on the east shore of the lake, away from the side where Ngati-Toa were, hoping they might effect their escape. But the Ngati-Toa canoes gave chase and several of the fugitive women and children were captured and enslaved. Te Rau-paraha's canoe was named 'Tu-whare' (after his old comrade in the 1819-20 raid). The canoes of Te Papaka (Ngati-pariri) and of Te Hau-iti (Ngati-Hine)—both *hapus* of Mua-upoko—were captured, as was the chief Te Raki, whilst Oti, Te Kotuku, Rangi-hiwi-nui, and Tanguru escaped." "After the taking of the *pas* (as described by Mr. Travers) the Ngati-Toa returned to Wai-kawa, and a few days afterwards came back to the lake to attack Puke-iti and Wai-pata; and here they succeeded in capturing two more canoes full of women and children. After the massacre of all the people left in the *pas*, those of Mua-upoko who escaped fled to Pae-kakariki and the hills behind Wai-kanae."

It was somewhere about the beginning of 1823 that the Horo-whenua Lake *pas* were taken. Amongst the Mua-upoko people in the *pas* were some of the Ngati-kuia people of Pelorus Sound, South Island (whom Mr. Travers refers to in other parts of his narrative as Ngati-Huia, a quite different people, a *hapu* of Ngati-Rau-kawa). This was the Ngati-Rongo-mai *hapu* of Ngati-kuia under their chiefs Pakau-era and his brother Maiki, who, according to the grandson of the former, were both great *toas* or braves, and fought bravely against Ngati-Toa at Horo-whenua, which gave rise to the following saying in regard to them:—

Tataia mai te rakau a Te Rau-
paraha

No Pakau-era raua ko Maihi.

Stricken was the weapon of Te Rau-
paraha

By Pakau-era and Maihi.

These men escaped and afterwards crossed the Straits to their homes in the Pelorus Sound, South Island.

TAKING OF KAPITI ISLAND.

1823.

It would seem that even during Te Rau-paraha's first expedition down this coast with Nga-Puhi in 1819-20 he had cast covetous eyes on the island of Kapiti, separated from the main land by a narrow strait about five miles wide, as a very desirable acquisition for his tribe to be used as a stronghold difficult of access and easily defended. During the first year of their residence at Ohau on the mainland more than one attempt had been made to take it; but Mua-upoko, together

with some of the Rangi-tane tribe who dwelt there, had so far succeeded in repelling the attack. The island possesses a fairly secure anchorage for vessels at the south-east end, which a few years later than the time we are writing of was constantly visited by whalers and other ships, thus allowing Te Rau-paraha to acquire many muskets, in which he was of much need.

It was during a raid made by Te Rau-paraha on the Ngati-Apa of Rangi-tikei, which tribe had become involved in the quarrel with Mua-upoko, that the Ngati-Toa forces were divided—one party under Te Rau-paraha proceeding against Ngati-Apa, another under Pehi-kupe crossed by canoe to the island, which they took by surprise, for the Mua-upoko people of the island had learned of Te Rau-paraha's proposed absence and thus felt themselves secure for the time, so took no precautions against surprise. Pehi-kupe captured the island without difficulty and put to death a large number of the people, whilst some escaped in canoes to the mainland and there joined their fellow tribesmen at Pae-kakariki.

When Te Rau-paraha and his party returned they found the island taken, and from that time forward for many years the Ngati-Toa chief took up his abode there.

THE SAMOAN VERSION OF THE STORY OF APAKURA.

By DR. E. SCHULTZ.

[The Chief Justice of German Samoa has been good enough to furnish us with the following brief notice of Apakura from the Samoan traditions, which is valuable as a confirmation, not only as to the names of individuals who flourished so many generations ago, but also as to the localities where the incidents occurred. The Rarotongan version of the story (only given, however, as a brief summary of the much longer story in the original) will be found in this Journal, Vol. VIII., p. 16, and also in "Hawaiki," p. 150, whilst the Maori edition is to be seen in Sir George Grey's "Nga Mahinga," p. 38, under the heading of "Tuhuruhuru," and there are many other versions of the story besides. The Moriori or Chatham Islands account of the same incidents will be found in this Journal, Vol. IV., p. 161. We have, then, in the traditions of four distinct branches of the Polynesian Race, a record of this incident, which appears from their point of view to be a very important one. The Rarotonga genealogies seem to fix the events about the year 875—none of the other accounts appear to be so reliable, nor, indeed, can any date be fixed from either Samoan, Moriori, or Maori, though the latter people show descents from Apakura, but they are demonstrably wrong as to the period.]

It is clear from what we now know of the Fijian occupation of the shores of the Samoan group in ancient times that the Fijians mentioned in the following story were the Tonga-Fiti people—*i.e.*, those branches of the Polynesians that occupied the eastern part of the Fiji group, and are not to be confounded with the present half-Melanesian Fijian people.

Dr. Schultz says, "The name Uru-o-Manōno is not mentioned in the Samoan version, neither is the island Manōno. But on Manōno there is a village named Apai. Does this indicate a connection between the Maori and Rarotongan versions?"

The Apai mentioned above may be the Atu-Apai of the Rarotongan story or the Ati-Hapai of the Maori, and if so it connects at once the Uru-o-Manōno of the Maori, with the little island of Manōno off the west end of Upōlo. There are, however, difficulties in the way, for the Rarotongan account of the fighting that took place on the beach at Atu-Apai will scarcely fit the very limited amount of sands of the little bay in Manōno island, and seems more applicable to the long beach at Haapai island of the Tonga group, and the word "Atu-Apai" means "the Apai group." (The Rarotongans do not make use of the letter "h".)

We cannot expect that the stories of such ancient times as these will be handed down through the ages in exactly the same form. But the identity of many names and the near approximation to others, as recorded in the traditions of all four branches of the race, all point to the historical nature of the incidents and assist in proving the general reliability of the traditions of the Polynesian race. It must be remembered that these four branches have had no communication with one another for certainly over five hundred years, and in some cases much longer.

—EDITOR.]

I HAVE much pleasure in forwarding herewith a free translation of the story of Apa'ula as told in my "Proverbial Expressions of the Samoans," p. 177. Referring to p. 150 of "Hawaiki" (second edition, Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1904) I may state that the story of Apakura—therein derived from Rarotonga sources—is well known also to the Samoans. In Samoa, of course, Apakura is Apa'ula; Vaea-te-atu-nuku, her husband, is simply Vaea; her son Tu-ranga-taua is Tuisavalalo; and Vakatau-ii becomes Va'atausili. . . . The first part of this story was published by Professor Kraemer in his monograph on Samoa, 1902, Vol. I., p. 268 (with some differences). The following is the story:—

The sons of the Tuifiti went to Samoa to make war against the chief Vaea of Vaimauga.* They arrived in the night-time and landed in Faleata—the village next to Vaimauga West. Their ship was so large that it extended across the whole bay of Vaiusu, the bow resting on the peninsula Mulinuu, the stern on the beach at Safune.† Vaea was informed of their arrival in the same night; he came down to the beach and lifted the ship and put it on the top of the trees, the Fijians in the ship remaining asleep. In the morning they realized what had occurred during the night, and this proof of Vaea's strength so frightened them, that they offered their sister Apa'ula—who had come with them from Fiji—to Vaea as ransom. Vaea accepted Apa'ula as his wife and spared their lives. Later on, when Apa'ula was pregnant, she returned with her brothers to Fiji to be confined there. Vaea stood in Savalalo‡ and followed her with his eyes till the ship had disappeared. The child (a boy) was born before they arrived in Fiji. In memory of that farewell Apa'ula named him Tuisavalalo—i.e., he [Vaea] stood [tu] in Savalalo.§ Fearing that her brothers might kill and eat him, she hid him during the voyage in the sea, and the wild fish came and nursed him. She succeeded in taking him safely to Fiji and he lived there in secrecy. But at last when he had grown up his uncles discovered him and demanded him from his mother. She had to give him up, and he was slain and eaten. Then Apa'ula returned to Samoa in order to call on Vaea to revenge the loss of his son. But she came too late, for Vaea, in the meantime, had turned into earth (the hill inland of Apia bears the name Vaea Hill)¶ and only his head was left. The head spoke thus: "*Ua sau Apa'ula, 'ua tautua.*"—"Apa'ula is come, but too late.")

* The township where the capital Apia is situated, in the district Tua-masaga, Upolu.

† This Safune is a part of Faleata; there is another Safune in Savi'i.

‡ A part of Vaimauga.

§ The name is Tu-whaka-raro in Maori and Moriori, and Tu-ranga-taua in Rarotongan.—EDITOR.

¶ It is where Robert Louis Stevenson is buried.—EDITOR.

A proverb applied to anything which is too late. Vaea's head now bade her go to his brother Va'atausili* in Savai'i, who would revenge the death of the boy.

[Up to here the story has been published also by Professor Kraemer in his monograph on Samoa—Stuttgart, 1902-03, Vol. I., p. 268—with some variations.]

Apa'ula obeyed and went to Savai'i in search of Va'atausili. In Lealatele† she met on the road a boy playing and enjoying himself by catching butterflies and grasshoppers. He was ill-shaped and repulsive looking. She asked him where Va'atausili was, and he replied that he was Va'atausili himself. Not believing this, she continued her journey towards Falealupo, ‡ taking the boy along with her, and when the passers-by confirmed his statement she did not know what to make of it, and began to doubt whether she should obey her husband, as Va'atausili was evidently not equal to the task of an avenger; but her doubts were soon ended. In Falealupo Va'atausili entered a cave to sleep there and while asleep his body grew and became beautiful and strong, tall and gigantic. “*‘Ua moea'itino Va'atausili.*”—(“Va'atausili sleeps that his body may grow.”) A proverb applied to anything which is not ripe—not prepared yet.

Va'atausili grew so much that the cave became too narrow for him, so he broke the entrance and came out. Then Apa'ula saw that he was well able to perform his task.§ “*‘Ua atoa le tino o Va'atausili.*”—(“The body of Va'atausili is full-grown”) A proverb applied to anything which is well prepared—*e.g.*, a meeting at which all persons of authority or rank are present.

Va'atausili tore out a cocoanut tree to serve him as a club and went with Apa'ula to Fiji, where he slew her brothers.

The note, p. 272, only contains a reference to S. Percy Smith's “Hawaiki,” p. 150.

An interesting coincidence is this: The Samoan version says that the boy Tuisavalalo, while in Fiji, was accustomed to slide on the breakers (a common sport all through Polynesia—called *fa'ase'e* in Samoan, in other dialects *fakaheke*). He was doing so when the message

* Whakatau in Moriori and Maori; Vakatau-ii in Rarotongan.—EDITOR.

† A district in Savai'i, the greater part of which has been recently destroyed by the volcanic outburst of 1905.

‡ On the west end of Savai'i.

§ Compare this incident of Va'atausili's growth in the cave with the story of Ono'ura and his similar growth under the same conditions. As the present story is probably the most ancient, it may follow that the incident has been incorporated in the story of Ono'ura at a later date.—EDITOR.

came from his uncles to his mother to deliver him. Apa'ula then went to the seashore and sang the following lamentation :—

Tuisavalalo e, inā e galu tu'u ia
Ma le galu, 'ua lē fatia.
'Afaī 'a e fati mai se galu, 'a e fati sina,
Ta masalo 'ua alofana ;
'A e fai, 'a e fati mai se galu, 'a e fati toto,
Ta masalo ifo 'ua e malolo.

TRANSLATION.

Oh Tuisavalalo, leave the waves,
The waves which do not break,
If the sea break and it break white,
Then, I believe, you will be loved ; (*i.e.*, not be killed)
But if it happen that it breaks red like blood,
Then I know you will die.

ON MATAKITE.

By LIEUT.-COL. W. E. GUDGEON.

AMONG those supernatural powers that are held to be the exclusive property of the Tohunga is that of *Matakite* (second sight), and this power of looking forward into the future and seeing those things—however dimly—which are about to happen, is, I need hardly say, highly valued, not only by the fortunate possessor but also by his tribe, who cannot fail to reap the benefits naturally resulting from this great gift.

It would seem that this prophetic vision is for the most part vouchsafed to the favoured man during sleep, but not unfrequently we find this trance-like condition of body and mind, during which the vision occurs, has been deliberately courted. For instance, should a *tohunga* be anxious concerning the fate of a war-party, who at the time were under his spiritual leadership, he would not wait for the dream which should under ordinary circumstances follow in due course, and (subject to the little matter of correct interpretation) reveal to him the desired information, but would boldly call upon his gods to aid him, throw himself into a trance, and thereby obtain the required knowledge without the delay that might otherwise occur.

Among the Maoris of New Zealand the latter method, which may be called voluntary *Matakite*, was only practised by the greater of the *tohungas*; in point of fact it was often necessary, for the tribal gods looked well after their people and seldom failed in their duty. On those rare occasions where there might seem to have been a suspicion of carelessness on the part of any deity, enquiry would generally reveal some breach of *tapu* or other impiety on the part of the warriors that had alienated the affections of the god and justified a severe lesson. In the smaller islands of the Pacific voluntary *Matakite* would seem to have been the rule rather than the exception with those priests, whose rôle it was to be the mouthpiece or oracle of the nether world. In Tahiti the *tohungas*, when declaring the will of the gods, invariably did so while in a trance, and this was accompanied by much convulsion and other spiritual manifestations, which, beyond all doubt, were not only interesting to the uninitiated observer, but also calculated to impress him with a due sense of awe and veneration for both gods and *tohunga*.

The late Mr. John White has noticed two instances of voluntary *Matakite*. In the first case quoted, one Kaiteke—a very famous wizard of the Nga-Puhi—accompanied the tribes of the far north in their expedition to attack the Ngati-Whatua of Kaipara, who at that period were a very valient and numerous clan, and had, moreover, only a few years previously (in 1807) inflicted a terrible defeat on the Nga-Puhi at Moremu-nui, and thereby compelled Hongi-Hika to set out for England with the hope of obtaining guns wherewith to avenge Moremu-nui and certain other defeats at the hands of the Ngati-Paoa tribe. It was with this *taua* of vengeance that Kaiteke found himself, and all men looking to him for some sign of approval from the spirit world, and therefore it was that the prestige of Ngati-Whatua being unimpaired and the occasion serious, he threw himself in a trance, and while in this state saw a vast multitude of spirits, who sang and danced before him. From the tenor of the song he gathered that Ngati-Whatua were aware of their approach and were prepared for them, but would nevertheless be defeated.

The song of the spirits has been preserved even to this day, and I may remark that it requires a good deal of interpretation, and that Kaiteke deserves infinite credit for his skill on this occasion, since to any ordinary ear it would have conveyed no meaning whatever; but that Kaiteke was right there was no doubt, for very shortly after the Nga-Puhi won the great battle of Te Ika-a-ranganui; an action so decisive that Ngati-Whatua have never attempted to explain it away. As a mere matter of detail I may explain that the Nga-Puhi had seventy guns in this action and Ngati-Whatua had but one, and this fact may have influenced both the spirits and the *tohunga*.*

On another occasion Hongi Hika sang a trance-song, in which he foretold the fall of the strong *pa* of Matakiki and the wholesale slaughter of the garrison, and that same able leader of men, while dying, prophesied the death of a neighbouring chief (Huritea), saying that he would not live a week. Now it so happened that the threatened man was in the best possible health at the time and at peace with all his neighbours, for which good and sufficient reasons but little notice was taken of the prophecy; but none the less Huritea did die within the week, shot by his own friends in a sudden and unpremeditated quarrel.

So far I have dealt with the voluntary *Matakite*, but for the most part such warnings were involuntary and vouchsafed to a man during his sleep, and these were considered the most reliable, inasmuch as the god in such cases acted on his own volition, and would not be likely to play tricks on his friends. Tradition relates many such occurrences,

* The original, translation, and circumstances which gave rise to Kaiteke's vision will be found in "Wars North and South," p. 162.—EDITOR.

and I have myself seen one or two instances sufficiently curious to justify narration.

A *tohunga* in good practice is expected to receive warnings from his gods concerning impending events, in which either he or his tribe might be involved. It is, indeed, an important part of his duty, and if his god failed him in this respect he must either get another god or the tribe would look round for another *tohunga*. These warnings are, as I have said, given for the most part through the medium of a song, delivered by the spirit of some departed ancestor, and such was the *Matakite* of Te Kuku-rarangi. This man was a chief of the Ngati-Awa tribe, and his *Matakite* took place on the very night that the Ngati-Rau-kawa made their unprovoked and unexpected attack on Ngati-Awa and Taranaki, afterwards known as the Kuititanga.

The following is a free translation of the song:—

The warriors of both land and sea gather together against us ;
They are welcome, and shall see the breaking waves of Kupe,
The surging waves that carry the canoe of Horopare Taiari.

O gods of war now lying in ambush, the seed of man shall be
laid low,

Lest Tu of the angry face return unsatisfied—all shall be laid
low, laid low.

This song aroused the *tohunga* from his sleep, and not a moment too soon, since he had only just time to rouse his friends to meet the Ngati-Raukawa, who were already in the *pa*. The latter were, however, badly defeated, and lost sixty men, including Ngakuku, a celebrated *toa* or warrior.

This was but one of very many warnings recorded in the unwritten history of the Maoris. During the long war between the Ngati-Maniapoto and the Ngati-Hāua of Upper Whanganui, the famous chief Whakaneke of the latter people took with him the whole fighting strength of his tribe—two hundred and fourteen men—and with the *tohunga* Tukaïora marched to meet his enemy at Mangapapa. *En route* the god Maru appeared before Tukaïora and sang the following song:—

Horohoro ra kia wawe taua te tae ki Papa-horohorohia,

Te whenua ka hoki mai ai ki taku whenua,

Te tata rawa mai te kihikihi taua.

Now no man in the war-party had ever heard of such a place as Papa-horohorohia, but the spirit message clearly indicated that the two parties would meet at a place of that name, and as messages from the nether world may not be treated with contumely, the war-party of Whanganui pressed forward, confident that their tribal deity would stop them at the right moment. Their faith was rewarded, for when the *taua* arrived at the low ridge above the Mangapapa stream, the god Maru appeared in the path and barred the way. By this sign the

warriors knew that they had reached the appointed battle-ground—namely, the Papa-horohorohia of the spirit message.

As the enemy were still far distant the Whanganui camped on the ground they then occupied, and calmly awaited the advent of their numerous foes. Late in the afternoon the Ngati-Mania-poto were seen advancing in the direction of the Mangapapa stream, led by three recreant but famous chiefs of Whanganui—named, respectively, Tu-te-mahurangi, Te Uhi, and Tanoa. When this party saw that Whanganui were in possession of the ground and that night was at hand, they also camped, and the three leaders secure in their relationship came forward to visit Whakaneke. Tu-te-mahurangi asked the latter if he felt safe in his camp, and was met with the reply that he was as clear on that point as the sun above him. Then said Tu-te-mahurangi, "Listen to my words: to-morrow morning my four hundred men will attack you in two divisions, but should you see the first division waver you must charge the second with all your force." From this speech Whakaneke understood that the three leaders of his foes, who were more than half Whanganui by blood, were not unwilling to assist that tribe; but any such intention was of the least possible consequence to Whakaneke and his merry men, for they—fortified by the *Matakite*—would cheerfully have engaged all New Zealand in battle.

At grey dawn on the following morning the Ngati-Mania-poto, trusting to their superior numbers, advanced to the attack, but when on the point of engaging, Tu-te-mahurangi waved his spear as though he wished to stop his division. Small as the check was, that moment of indecision ruined whatever chance the Ngati-Mania-poto may have had, for in an instant the Whanganui were on them fighting like fiends possessed. Great was the rout, but mindful ever of the *Matakite* the victors pursued for a short distance only, and then returned to their homes, obedient to the god who had so well directed them, and who had doubtless suggested to Tu-te-mahurangi the treacherous course he had pursued towards his allies.

A rather good instance of *Matakite* came under my notice about the year 1865. At that period the Maoris were in a rather pronounced state of rebellion throughout the south and centre of the North Island, including the Bay of Plenty. At Opotiki they had—absolutely without provocation—murdered the Rev. Mr. Volekner, and at Whakatane had seized the cutter "Kate," and killed Mr. Fulloon (Government agent) and crew of the boat, with the usual circumstances of fanatical violence and treachery. In consequence of these and other acts of atrocity, all of which were the natural outcome of that ferocious fanaticism known as the Hauhau religion, the self-reliant ministry of that day resolved to employ an independent column of Colonial troops under Colonial officers, who would operate in the Bay of Plenty and exact reparation

for outrages and generally pacify the Hauhaus *vi et armis*. To this end some five hundred men were assembled at Whanganui in September, 1865, and created some sensation, for the reason that, up to this date, the Colonial forces had acted in very small parties and had not undertaken any important operations without the co-operation of the Imperial troops. The experience we had acquired had taught us that success did not depend so much on the numbers as on the quality of the men we employed, therefore five hundred men were regarded as quite an army, and it is probable that three hundred men would have been sufficient for our purpose; but at that period the Government were prudently anxious that the flying column should be strong enough to cope with any ordinary assemblage of tribes, especially at Opotiki, where the Maoris were erroneously supposed to be very numerous. We may also presume that the Colonial Ministers were somewhat influenced by the fact that only a few months previously four hundred men of the Ngai-Te-rangi tribe intrenched at the Gate *pa*, in covered rifle pits, surrounded by a mere cobweb of palisade, had defeated General Cameron and his army with small loss to themselves, notwithstanding a preliminary bombardment of at least one hour's duration delivered by hundred-pounder Armstrongs and field-guns of approved patterns. This iron hail was supposed to rain death and destruction on the devoted garrison, and probably would have done all those things had the earthworks only been designed by aid of tape, plan, and European precedent; but the wily Maori has an intelligent want of appreciation of *Pakeha* forms and text books, and a contempt almost sublime for the regular soldier as an enemy. He does not deny his manly qualities or his courage, but he cannot understand his want of initiative or even intelligence; he cannot admire the manner in which the lives of these soldiers are frequently thrown away, and wonders why they should invariably attack the strongest face of a Maori intrenchment. On this occasion, whatever may have been the reason, the Maoris were neither hurt nor frightened, whereas the troops who were led with much courage and sacrificed by their general not only lost many men but suffered a stampede of unusual magnitude.

For these and other causes the Defence Minister deemed it advisable to send at least five hundred men to Opotiki, and in order to make up this number selected one hundred and twenty of the Whanganui tribe. These warriors had shortly before met and defeated a war-party of Hauhaus on the island of Moutoa, in the Whanganui river, and well nigh destroyed them; and therefore after the manner of their kind were simply spoiling for another fight. There was therefore no difficulty in inducing them to join the expedition under Captains McDonnell and Kēpa. This small body of Maori warriors had, however, a weak spot, for most of them were very young men and were by no means approved of by the old chiefs, who argued that no

good could come of a war-party composed of men who lacked experience. Holding this belief, they, in a quiet way, did their best to prevent the departure of the contingent, and would probably have succeeded in their design had not McDonnell suggested that five old chiefs should accompany the column and aid him by their advice. This proposal met with general approval from the chiefs, who not only consented to go but also took with them their prophet Titau, who must be held responsible for this long digression.

In those remote days I had not the respect I now feel for prophets; moreover Titau was a singularly mean and insignificant looking man with many unpleasant habits; for instance, about midnight he would become lively and animated and treat us to a long *whakaara* (awakening), during which he would howl out interminable verses at the top of his voice, warning us as to the fate of many *tauas* who had been surprised and slain by reason of their failing to keep strict watch. All of this was very irritating, for not only did the old ruffian keep us awake by his nocturnal musings, but he also ignored the fact that we had a chain of sentries posted on scientific principles, whose duty it was to watch over the safety of the camp; he therefore implied that we were deficient in warlike knowledge. Inexperienced as I was in such matters, I soon found that the men of the contingent did not share my opinion as to the demerits of Titau. Personally, I had never been able to discover any sign of genius or virtue in the man, except that he was something more than careless as to his personal appearance, and wore his hair rather long for an absolutely sane man, but his fellow tribesmen did believe in him and informed me with much glee that Titau had accomplished a *Matakite*, during which it had been revealed to him that the warriors of Whanganui would arrive safely in Opotiki, fight many battles in that district, and return to their homes without loss, but that he (Titau) would die, though the manner of his death he did not disclose. I cannot say that I gave any credit to this prediction at the time, probably because the prophet was so cheerful, but the faith of the contingent would have moved any ordinary mountain, and they gave us no trouble, so that it seemed to me that a prophet under good control might be a very useful institution.

In due time we arrived safely at Opotiki and there fought many skirmishes, in which men of the contingent were wounded but none killed. In all of these affairs Titau played a very important part, and, in my opinion, did his very best to get killed, but to no purpose, for not a bullet would touch him. The position was serious, for it seemed that, however true his *Matakite* might be as to others, it was likely to fail as far as the prophet himself was concerned. After two months of this sort of work, a steamer arrived unexpectedly, bringing orders for the contingent to return at once to Whanganui, and there join the Column under Sir Trevor Chute, in his west coast raid. Now, indeed,

the reputation of Titau seemed all but lost and men began to look askance at him, for on the morrow we were to embark, and if he intended to die he had no time to lose—he would have to be real smart about it; and he was. On the morning of the embarkation the Maoris, who had collected much loot of but little value, began to have misgivings as to whether the boats of the steamer would take their loot on board, and moved by this feeling, they loaded two canoes and started off down the river. All went well until they reached the bar, but there the leading canoe was caught by a blind roller and turned over, leaving the crew struggling in the water. Maoris are not easily drowned, and the crew succeeded in reaching the shore, but Titau was drowned—probably of his own free-will—but most certainly to the satisfaction of his tribe, who were willing to sacrifice their prophet so long as his reputation remained unstained, for the latter might effect the honour of the whole tribe.

I have heard of a very singular case of *Matakite* that occurred about the year 1846 among the Nga-Puhi. A large party of Maoris, together with a few Europeans, had visited the island of Rua-papaka in order to spear fish in the shallows surrounding that island. They were, of course, accompanied by a *tohunga*, for who could hope to be successful without the aid of the sea-god Tangaroa, and who could invoke his aid but a *tohunga*? The fish-spearing went on merrily until midnight, when, satisfied with the result of their sport, the party set out on the return voyage. As the tide was running strongly the canoe kept close to the mangroves, and everyone, including the *tohunga*—who knelt in the bow of the canoe—paddled his best. In this manner more than half of the return journey had been accomplished, the old priest meanwhile crooning in an undertone some old Maori song. Suddenly, however, he threw up his paddle and ceased his song. The action was so marked that everyone stopped and asked, *He aha?*—(What is it?) He replied, “Never mind; wait till we reach the village,” and then sat in melancholy silence until they arrived at their destination. He then explained that he must leave at once for his settlement in order to prepare his people for bad news, and save his own daughter from danger that threatened her. He further said that a young woman of high rank named Nga-ripena had just died at Te Hapanga, and that her spirit had imparted this information to him as it crossed the bow of the canoe during the return voyage. He therefore feared lest the spirit should persuade that of his daughter to accompany it towards the Reinga. The *tohunga* was asked how he knew it was the spirit of Nga-ripena that had communicated with him. No one doubted the spiritual manifestation—the only doubt was as to whose spirit it was—for Nga-ripena was one of the finest girls in the north, whom they had

all seen in good health only a few days before; they therefore found it difficult to believe that she was dead.

If it were possible to doubt the word of a great *tohunga*, here was a case for incredulity, for, as I have said, Nga-ripenene had passed them only two days before on her way to visit her friends at Te Hapanga, and since then there had been no communication with that out of the way village. But the *tohunga* had no doubts as to the truth of his spirit-vision, and forthwith set out to walk to his own village over a rough track and on a dark night in order to protect his daughter from the over-friendly spirit of Nga-ripenene. On the following day, about noon, a man named Te Puakawau called at Te Horeke and asked for the *tohunga*, saying that he had come from Te Hapanga. He was told that the man in question had left and also the reason of his departure, and the messenger said, "It is true, Nga-ripenene is dead; she died after sundown. The *tohunga* would know this if Nga-ripenene wished him to know, and he has gone to prepare his people because her body will be buried there; she did not wish to lie in the Missionary cemetery." After further conversation, the messenger made known to his audience that the girl had died after eating peaches, unwittingly gathered on *tapu* ground, and, as a natural sequence, had only lived twelve hours after committing this act of sacrilege.

Another good instance of involuntary *Matakite* occurred within my own experience about the year 1866, while camped at Waihi, near the famous Waimate Plains. We had received information of an indefinite character, touching the existence of a rebel stronghold called Te Ngaere; and many were the tales told of the impregnability of this place and of the heavy losses suffered by the Waikato in olden days, when that tribe attempted to take this virgin fortress. Whole war-parties were said to have been lost in the encircling morass, not to mention other difficulties of flood and field, which the said enemy had been compelled to encounter. No one was quite prepared to indicate the position of this modern Gibraltar, but the vague and shadowy reports of its mere existence had fired our imaginations, and affected even the senior members of the force, so that our chief resolved that the stronghold should be sought out and attacked. In pursuance with this decision I received orders that it would be my duty on a certain midnight to rouse up the Native Contingent so that we might be on the march at 2 a.m.—an arrangement that would take us deep into the forest, before the rising sun could disclose our movements to the enemy's scouts, who might perchance be observing us while hidden in the scrub.

Just before we marched off I went round the tents and *whares* to see that all were ready, and found our famous warrior Winiata sitting dejectedly by himself. This was a sight so unusual that I naturally asked if he was ill, and was met with the reply that he was a dead

man unless I would consent to his remaining in the rear of the war-party. Now Winiata was a man with a great reputation and on every previous occasion had been not only the leader of the war-party, but the life and soul of the force. He had, moreover, constituted himself my guardian, keeping close to me as I led the contingent, and had generally patronised me as a promising but ignorant young man who could not be trusted out of his sight. I was therefore somewhat surprised, but to avoid hurting his feelings I did not show it, for no one understood better than Winiata the *Pakeha* sentiment in such matters. This is one of the many points on which the Maori differs widely from the European, for the bravest Maori would not hesitate to inform his comrades that he did not intend to fight on any given day, and they, on their part, would express neither surprise nor disgust at the announcement; they would simply remark one to the other, "He has been warned by his gods." Knowing this peculiarity of my friend, I simply replied in general terms that he was too great a warrior not to know the proper course to pursue under all circumstances, and that having received a warning he ought not to neglect it. Had time permitted I should have enquired into the actual cause of his melancholy, but just then the order to parade was passed along, and we fell in and marched away in single file through the forest over the site of the present township of Normanby, and thence along the old war-trail in the rear of Mount Egmont. Growling and stumbling over roots and logs, heartily cursing our own folly in leading such a life of hardship, vowing that we would not remain another day in the force, and straightway forgetting all that we had sworn directly the sun rose.

Shortly after daybreak we found ourselves sufficiently deep in the forest to be out of the sight of prying eyes; so a halt was called to enable the men to eat a hasty breakfast of dry biscuit, washed down by rum and water. This was my opportunity, and I sought out my gallant little friend and enquired the cause of his trouble. He replied that he had dreamed a dream or seen a vision, during which it seemed to him that we were marching deep into the heart of the forest and that he was in the company of myself, and Captain Northcroft leading the advance guard; that we descended a hill and crossed a stream, and were about half-way up the opposite ascent proceeding with great caution, when a volley was fired close at hand and he felt himself struck by a bullet just above and in front of the left hip, and, said he, "I knew that I was dead!" A good deal of a very vivid description was given of this dreamland scene—almost sufficient to identify the spot when seen, but Winiata expressly stated that he did not know the place and had never seen it except in his dream.

This tale was told in the presence of a comrade, who, having served for several years side by side with the contingent, did not laugh at it,

indeed, like many Europeans, he had by mere force of environment assimilated much of the Maori superstition, and he strongly approved Winiata's decision to remain in the rear of the column until the enemy had fired their first volley. About noon we reached a very open place in the forest, and led by Nawarere—who had taken Winiata's place—were moving warily along when I noticed two men approaching us through the trees. I immediately raised my hand, and at this well-known signal each man sank noiselessly on one knee. The enemy evidently had not seen us and their fate seemed certain, when suddenly Nawarere, who was a brave but excitable man, raised his rifle and fired before anyone could stop him. Of course he missed his aim, and the two men fled for their lives, throwing away arms and other impediments as they ran. Unencumbered and almost naked, their escape was never doubtful. We followed as rapidly as possible until we reached the edge of a steep slope, from which, looking through the trees, we could see at some distance on the opposite ridge a large clearing, and by the aid of field glasses could see the *whares* and a group of men sitting outside. Here we halted to consider our position, and abuse Nawarere, for our presence being discovered it was beyond all doubt that we should now be met with ambushes and all the other artifices known to Maori warfare. After some discussion, Captain Northcroft and a Greek named Economedes, both very brave men, received permission to leave their own companies and join the contingent who were leading. Nawarere, I sent to the rear, and his place was taken by Tonihi—an elder brother of Winiata, and a very determined man. Very cautiously we descended the hill and crossed the inevitable creek, which I could not help thinking was suspiciously like that described by Winiata as the scene of his dream. There was, however, but little time for such reflections; all our thoughts and energy were required for the work we had in hand, since the safety of the column depended on the behaviour of the advanced guard. We moved forward with every sense on the alert, keeping well ahead of the leading company, and were rather more than half way up the hill when suddenly from our right front and only a few yards distant a volley was fired into us from perhaps twenty guns, closely followed by scattered shots, probably from the second barrels of their guns. Captain Northcroft, who was slightly in front, and therefore the most conspicuous object, was uninjured, but not so Economedes, for he, after swaying backwards and forwards for a moment, said, "Take my rifle," and as he spoke fell dead and did not move again.

Scarcely had the sound of the volley died away when Winiata was among us, but of us he took no notice and still less of the enemy. He knelt by the dead man and examined his wound, and then turning to me, said, "What have you to say as to my *Matakite*—have I not been killed?" Economedes had been shot through the body just above the hips. As a mere coincidence this would have been sufficiently remarkable,

but I do not say that it was a coincidence; I am rather inclined to think with Winiata and his compatriots that it had been decreed that someone should die that day, and in a certain manner, and that Winiata had avoided his fate at the expense of another. Here again I must explain. To the European mind there is something exceedingly mean and cowardly in thus escaping death by the sacrifice of another, but to a Maori no such notion could occur. The course adopted by Winiata was, in his opinion, the only one open to a reasonable man, and any other line would have been mere imbecility. No braver man than my little friend ever lived, but even he would not neglect the warning which he regarded as an acknowledgment of his *māna* as a famous warrior, vouchsafed to him that he might live to accomplish mighty deeds.

Winiata died as he had lived, fighting to the last—on the day that the seventy men of Whanganui did that which the three hundred of Kahu-ngunu were afraid to attempt, namely, storm Te Kooti's *pa* at the Pourere. While some strove to undermine the parapet and others to plug the loopholes with lumps of pumice, Winiata boldly mounted the parapet and there fired his friends' rifles as they were passed up to him. In this way it is said he killed five men while exposed to the whole fire of the *pa*. But his time had come; his heroic career was ended by a man who crouched beneath him, whose bullet struck Winiata under the chin and passed upwards through his brain. In this way died a very famous warrior, but not unavenged; for, as he fell back into the ditch, his comrades of one accord swarmed over the parapet, and thirty-seven of the enemy were sent to attend the dead *toa* in his spirit flight to the Reinga.



NOTES AND QUERIES.

[203] Tu-whare—Te Rau-paraha Expedition, 1820.

In Chapter XII. of "The Taranaki Coast" (J.P.S., Vol. XVII., p. 26) it is stated that the above expedition passed through Port Nicholson in the winter of 1820, a date only arrived at after some years of inquiry and the piecing together of little bits of information derived from many sources. Mr. Travers gives the date as 1817, which is clearly wrong. Mr. R. McNab, in the third edition of "Murihiku," for the first time gives a translation of the voyage of Bellinghausen, the Russian voyager, who passed through the Straits on the 9th June, 1820. From his researches at Sydney and elsewhere, it does not appear that any other vessels are mentioned as having been in that part of New Zealand about that time. Therefore it seems justifiable to assume that the ships seen by the above expedition were those of Bellinghausen, and thus, tentatively at any rate, the date is confirmed. The ships were seen off Cape Te Rawhiti by Tu-whare and his companions.

S. PERCY SMITH.

[204] Iho-rei.

Can anyone explain what the above expression means? Maoris give the meaning thus: *Tona hangaitanga, he tangata tuturu no te hapu. He rangatira, engari he tuturu*—*mo te rangatira anake, engari he tuturu.*—There is a little island in Ahuriri Harbour called Te Iho-o-te-rei.

ELSDON BEST.

Le ua Niua Islands.

In the ninth volume of reports of "The Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science," p. 258 (just received), the Rev. G. Brown, D.D.—the well-known missionary—describes a visit to the above group of islands and informs us that the name as here spelt is the correct one, though it has heretofore been called Leueneuwa, and is also known by the peculiar one of Ontong Java and also Lord Howe's Island (not to be confounded, however, with Lord Howe's Island lying between Sydney and Norfolk Island). The interest attaching to Mr. Brown's visit is principally centred in the fact that the people are Polynesians and speak a dialect of the Samoan. Dr. Brown says, "The natives are certainly Polynesians, and Selu (the Samoan who accompanied me) and I could understand many of their words and some of their sentences. The name of this atoll as given on the chart is Leueaeuwa, but the name, I think, is wrongly spelt, as it bears no meaning whatever that I know of in any Polynesian language. The proper spelling is Le ua Niua. This was certainly the way in which I wrote it before I knew of the other spelling, and the Samoan who was with me also spelt it in the same way. It is, I think, one of the largest atolls known. It was discovered by Te Maire and Schouten in 1616, again by Tasman in 1643, and by Captain Hunter in 1791. The British flag was

hoisted on the group in 1900, when it was transferred from the possession of Germany to British protection. It is situated in lat. $5^{\circ} 29' 35''$ south, long. $159^{\circ} 41' 40''$ east, and is, I think, considerably over one hundred miles in circumference. The lagoon contains many islets and islands besides those on the main Barrier reef." Dr. Brown gives a list of words common to this island, Samoa and Tonga, from which it is obvious that the language is closely akin to the Samoan, even if we had not the positive statement of a Polynesian scholar, such as Dr. Brown is, to the same effect.

An interesting question arises here as to whether these people did not form part of the original migration of Polynesians from Indonesia and got stranded on the way. The connection of their dialect with that of Samoa points to the probability of their having formed part of the first migration into the Pacific, of which the Samoans were doubtless the forerunners. But we have not enough information as yet to decide the question.

EDITOR.



TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS. POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

A MEETING of the Council took place at the Library on the 21st September.
Present:—The President, Messrs. W. W. Smith, F. P. Corkill, W. H. Skinner,
W. L. Newman, and M. Fraser.

After dealing with correspondence, the following new member was elected:—
The Rev. W. G. Ivens, Nelson Street, Kilbirnie, Wellington.

The following papers were received:—

Wairangi and Tarawhete. From Elsdon Best.

Tu-whakairi-ora. By Rev. Mohi Tawhai (through Arch. Williams).

Ngati-Whatua Traditions. By Rev. Hauraki Paora.

The following list of publications received during the quarter was read:—

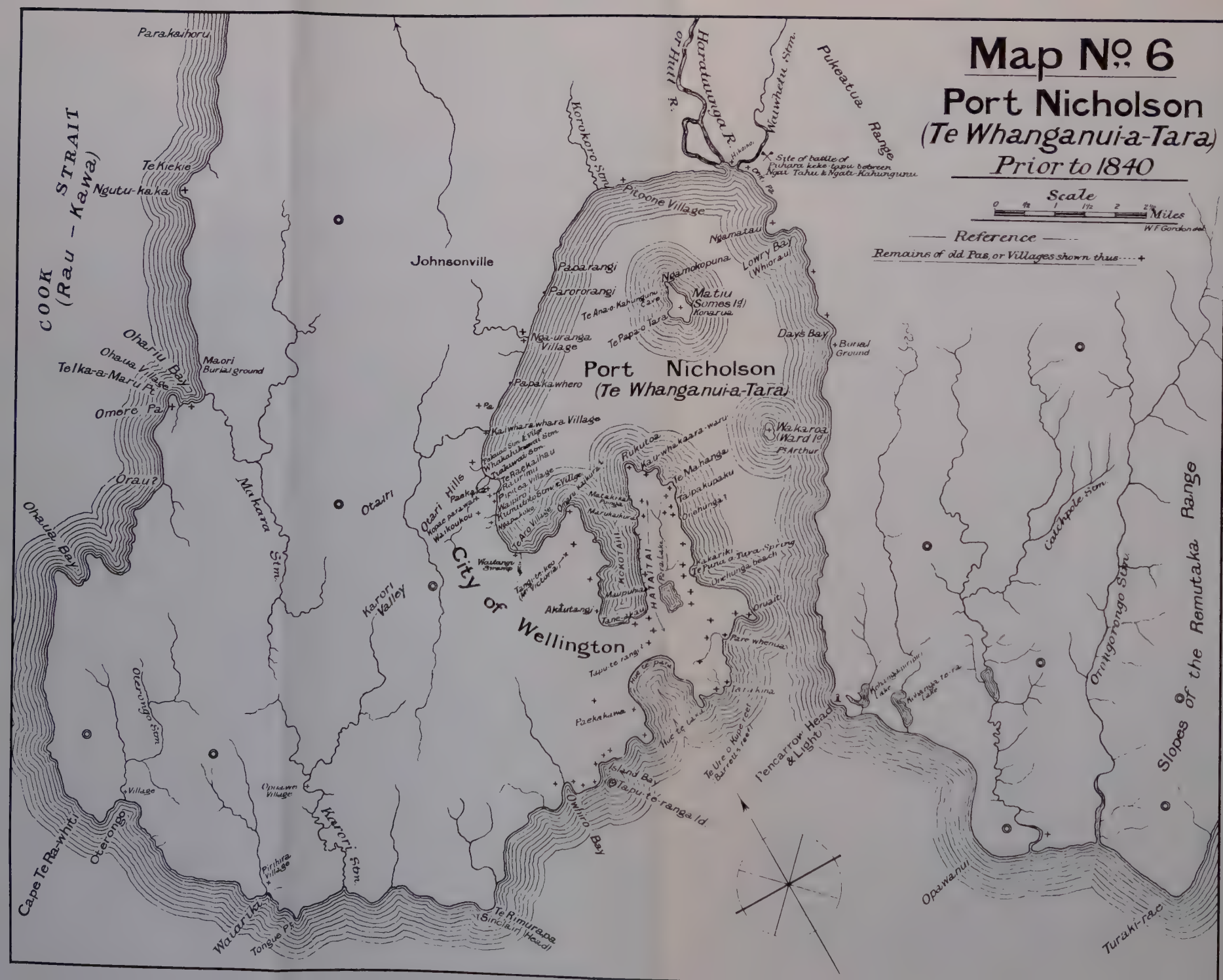
- 2386 *MSS. Genealogies and Traditions, East Coast.* Presented by T. W. Downes.
2387-90 *The Geographical Journal.* May, 1909, to August, 1909.
2391-95 *Bulletin*—American Geographical Society. April to August, 1909.
2396-98 *Revue*—De L'Ecole D'Anthropologie de Paris. May to July, 1909.
2399-2401 *Science of Man.* June to August, 1909.
2402 *Report of Trustees,* Public Library, Melbourne, 1909.
2403-5 *Journal*—Royal Colonial Institute. May-July, 1909.
2406 *Annual Report*—Hawaiian Historical Society, 1908.
2407 *The American Antiquarian.* March-May, 1909.
2408 *Fauna Hawaiiensis.* Vol. iii., part 5. Coleoptera 3.
2409 *Proceedings*—Royal Society of Edinburgh. Vol. xxix.
2410 *Journal*—Royal Anthropological Institute, Great Britain. Vol. xxxviii.
2411 *Proceedings*—Royal Geographical Society, Australasia, S. A. Branch. Vol. x.
2412 *Bijdragen*—Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, &c., Koninklijk Instituut, The Hague. Deel xlii.
2413 *Tijdschrift*—Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, &c., Bataviaasch Genootschap, Batavia, Deel li., 3, 4.
2414 *Notulen*—Van de Algemeene, &c., Bataviaasch Genootschap. Deel xlvii., 4.
2415 *Verhandelingen*—Bataviaasch Genootschap. Deel lvii.
2416 *Register, &c., &c.*—Bataviaasch Genootschap. 1908.
2417-19 *Na Mata.* June to August, 1909.
2420 *Annual Report.* Smithsonian Institution, 1907.
2421 *Journal*—American Oriental Society. Vol. xxix.
2422 *Transactions*—New Zealand Institute. Vol. xli.
2423 *Journal of Science*—Philippines. Vol. iii.
2424 *Records*—Canterbury Museum. Vol. i., 2.
2425 *Sitzungsberichte*—Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 36-38.
2426 *A plan for the study of Man*—U.S.A. Senate, 1902.
2427 *Eleventh Report*—Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, Adelaide, 1907.

Map No. 6

Port Nicholson (Te Whanganui-a-Tara) Prior to 1840

Scale
0 1/2 1 2 3 Miles
W.F. Gordon del.

Reference
Remains of old Pā, or Villages shown thus: +



HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF THE TARANAKI COAST.

CHAPTER XV.—CONTINUED.

ATI-AWA RETURN TO TARANAKI, 1823.

THE Ati-Awa people, who had up to this time been assisting Ngati-Toa in their war against Mua-upoko, now felt that their presence was not so necessary, seeing that Kapiti Island had been secured; they therefore decided to return to their homes. There were other reasons actuating them also; they felt the overbearing conduct of Te Rau-paraha, who merely used them as auxiliaries to secure his own ends, and, moreover, the news had come through that Waikato was preparing another formidable expedition against Taranaki in order to wreak vengeance on the Ati-Awa people, who had defeated them in the battle of Te Motu-nui. Accordingly, Te Puoho and his Ngati-Tama people, Rere-tawhangawhanga and the Manu-korihi people, besides others, returned to their homes at Waitara and other places, leaving only a comparatively few of their tribesmen with Te Rau-paraha, who was thus very much reduced in fighting strength. So far as can be ascertained, they returned to Taranaki early in 1823.

Some of Ngati-Toa, however, still continued to dwell at Ohau, after Te Rau-paraha had removed to Kapiti Island. Nor did Ngati-Toa forget the massacre of Papa-i-tonga, for Mua-upoko were still attacked wherever they could be found, and a great slaughter took place at Pae-kakariki, where the refugees from the former place and Horowhenua had gathered. Here Mua-upoko again suffered a severe defeat, numbers of them being slain; "the conquerors," says Mr. Travers, "remaining in possession of the *pa* for two months for the purpose of devouring the bodies and stores of provisions found there."

Whilst here, Ngati-Toa were suddenly attacked by a party of Ngati-Kahu-nguru of Wai-rarapa and Ngati-Ira of Port Nicholson; Ngati-Toa suffering a reverse, having to retreat on Wai-kanaa.

"This event," says Mr. Travers, "coupled with the threatening attitude assumed by that powerful tribe, and the fact that the

Mua-upoko, Rangī-tane, and Ngāti-Apa were again collecting in the vicinity of their former settlements, determined Te Rau-paraha to abandon the mainland and to withdraw the whole of his people to Kapiti until he could obtain the assistance (which he still confidently expected) of his kindred of Taupo and Maunga-tautari (Ngāti-Rau-kawa).''

ATTACK ON NGATI-APA AND RANGI-TANE.

It was mentioned on last page that the Ngāti-Apa tribe had become embroiled with Ngāti-Toa on account of their having joined with their related tribes, Rangī-tane and Mua-upoko, in opposing Te Rau-paraha's schemes. Mr. Travers says, "Te Rau-paraha had no sooner retired to Kapiti than the Rangī-tane erected a large *pa* at Hotu-iti, on the north side of the Manawatu river on the block of land now known as Te Awa-hou, where they collected in force and were joined by three chiefs of note of the Ngāti-Apa tribe. Te Rau-paraha, hearing of this, determined to attack them, and he and Te Rangī-haeata marched to Hotu-iti with a well-appointed *tauā*, accompanied by Pikinga (the latter's wife), who, on the arrival of the party before the *pa*, was sent into it to direct the Ngāti-Apa chiefs to retire to the district occupied by that tribe on the north side of the Rangī-tikei river. This they declined to do; and Te Rau-paraha then sent messengers to the Rangī-tane tribe offering peace, and desiring that their chiefs should be sent to his camp to settle the terms. Being advised by the Ngāti-Apa chiefs to accept the offer, they sent their head men to Te Rau-paraha's quarters, where they were at once ruthlessly slain; and whilst the people of the *pa*, ignorant of this slaughter and believing that hostilities were suspended, were entirely off their guard, it was rushed by Ngāti-Toa and taken after a very feeble defence—the greater number of the unfortunate people and their families, as well as the three Ngāti-Apa chiefs, being slaughtered and devoured; such prisoners as were taken being removed to Wai-kanāe in order to undergo the same fate."

Tungia of Ngāti-Toa was nearly losing his life here, but was saved by Te Aweawe of Rangī-tane—a deed that bore fruit in after years.

"After this treacherous affair Te Rau-paraha and his forces returned to Wai-kanāe, where they indulged in feasting and rejoicing, little dreaming that any attempt would be made to attack them."

It appears from my Ngāti-Kuia informant that one of the chiefs of either Ngāti-Apa or Rangī-tane captured in this affair was named Te Ao-kaitu. He was bound hand and foot and dragged to the ovens preparing to cook those who had been killed. One of the Ngāti-Toa men said to him in derision, "You had better recite your own lament!" Te Ao-kaitu replied, "Is this a fit time for song when the stones are hot

for cooking me?" "Never mind," said the other, "sing your lament." So Te Aho-kaitu then proceeded to sing his death wail, as follows:—

Tenei taku poho,	Now is my heart,
Kei te kapakapa atu,	With fluttering beats,
Na Te Ahirau	(Awaiting the work) of Te Ahi-rau,
Ki te waro raia	(To place me) in yonder chasm,
Kei te turakinga ai	When I fall by the blow.
Ko te kete tu na Marino	To be placed in Marino's basket,
Kei te weranga ai o te huha	My well-cooked thigh,
Ka tu kei te tahua.	Will adorn the feast.

This my informant considers a very pathetic incident and song.

NGATI-TOA DEFEATED AT WAI-KANAE.

? 1824.

To quote Mr. Travers again, "It appears, however, that the Ngati-Apa at Rangi-tikei, incensed at the slaughter of their three chiefs at Hotu-iti, determined to avenge their deaths, and for this purpose had collected a considerable war-party, which was readily joined by refugees from Hotu-iti and by a number of the Mua-upoko from Horowhenua. Led by Te Hakeke (of the Ngati-Apa tribe) they fell upon the Ngati-Toa at Wai-kanae during the night, killing upwards of sixty of them, including many women and children—amongst the latter being Te Rangi-hiroa and three other daughters of Te Pehi-kupe, Pahi-taka, etc. At the commencement of the attack a canoe was despatched to Kapiti for reinforcements, which were at once sent, and upon their arrival the enemy fled, but without being pursued." These events occurred at Whare-mauku and Uru-hira at Wai-kanae. Toata of Mua-upoko was the last of his tribe killed at Wai-kanae—he fell in a swamp. The remnant of the tribe retreated up the Wai-kanae river and there built a small *pa* on a point of land defended on two sides by the river whilst the other was palisaded. It is called to this day "Te pa o Te Toata."

"In consequence of this attack Te Rau-paraha and Te Rangi-haeata became (to use the words of Matene Te Whiwhi) 'dark in their hearts in regard to Ngati-Apa,' and resolved to spare no efforts to destroy them as well as the remnant of Rangi-tane and Mua-upoko. Te Rau-paraha had, of course, become aware of the defeat of Te Whata-nui (of Ngati-Rau-kawa) in their attempt to reach Kapiti by the East Coast; but immediately after the departure of Ati-Awa for Taranaki (just after the Horo-whenua massacre) he had sent further emissaries to Taupo (? Maunga-tautari) in order to again urge upon the chiefs of Ngati-Rau-kawa to join him in the occupation of the country he had conquered."

"In the meantime, however, a storm was brewing that threatened utterly to destroy him and his people."

WAI-O-RUA OR WHAKA-PAETAI.

? 1824.

After the defeat of Ngati-Toa at Wai-kanae, the whole tribe withdrew from the mainland and settled at various places on Kapiti Island with the intention of awaiting the second reinforcements from the north, from Ngati-Rau-kawa of Maunga-tautari, with which tribe, as has been said, Ngati-Toa was connected. At this period of his career, Te Rau-paraha appears to have shown a lack of diplomatic power, for his present position was one of considerable danger, and he had practically been driven from the mainland by his treacherous conduct against the local tribes, who had, at first, held out the hand of friendship to him—no doubt through fear. He had alienated the friendship of the Taranaki tribes that came down from Ure-nui with him by his overbearing conduct, and they had returned home. Southward of Northern Taranaki the whole of the tribes along the coast, right away to Wai-rarapa were his bitter enemies. The branches of Ngati-Apa and Rangi-tane inhabiting the southern shores of Cook's Straits were equally inimicable to him, for their relatives had suffered at his hands on the north shore, and, moreover, these southern people were aware of Te Rau-paraha's intention to attack them at the first convenient opportunity.

Hence the time appeared opportune for a combined attack on Kapiti with the view of attempting to put an end to the depredations of the intruding Ngati-Toa before they could obtain help from Ngati-Rau-kawa. It has been stated that Te Raki had been captured at Horo-whenua. He was either Mua-upoko or Rangi-tane—both closely connected. This man effected his escape and reached the South Island in safety. Here he proceeded to preach a crusade against Ngati-Toa and succeeded in raising all the tribes from Massacre Bay (Ngati-Apa-ki-te-ra-to and Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri); Pelorous Sound (Ngati-Kuia); Queen Charlotte Sound (Rangi-tane and Ngati-Apa); and also the people of Wairau (or Blenheim). Emissaries at the same time were sent to rouse the tribes on the north of Cook's Straits, and the following responded: Ngati-Rua-nui, Nga-Rauru, Whanganui, Ngati-Apa, Rangi-tane, Mua-upoko, Ngati-Ira; and it is said also, some of Ngati-Kahungunu of Wairarapa. The following is the list of leaders, as nearly as can be ascertained:—

Mua-upoko.—Rangi-hiwi-nui, Tanguru, Kotuku, Maru, Tawhati, Tu-mata.

Rangi-tane.—Mahuri, Tutai, Kai-moko-puna, Te Awa-kautere.
Ngati-Apa.—Te Hakeke, Marumaru, Turanga-pito, Papaka, Tahataha, Te Ahuru (who was killed).

Whanganui.—Turoa, Paetaha, Te Anaua, Rangi-te-whata, Te Rangi-whakaruru, Te Kuru-kanga, Te Kotuku.

Ngati-Rua-nui.—Te Hana-tauā, Tu-rau-kawa, Te Matangi-o-Rupe.

Rangi-tane, South Island.—Te Ra-maru, Tuki-hongi.

Ngati-Kahu-ngunu.—Tu-te-pakihi-rangi.

Ngati-Ira.—Te Kekerengu, Huru, and Ta-unuunu.

No doubt there were many other chiefs, but the above are all the old men who informed Mr. Best and myself of the names could remember. This formidable host gathered in their canoes at Wai-kanāe to await a proper moment to attack the island. The fleet is stated by Maori narrators as being a very large one—indeed, one man says there were two thousand canoes (an evident exaggeration)—probably not less than several hundred. My informants say that even on their retreat the sea was so thickly covered by canoes that “the sunlight on the water was obstructed”—a bit of poetical exaggeration. Mr. Travers says, “About the fourth year after the first arrival of Ngati-Toa nearly two thousand warriors assembled between Otaki and Wai-kanāe. . . . The sea on the occasion of their attack (says one of my informants, who was present) was covered with canoes—one wing reaching Kapiti from Otaki, whilst the other started simultaneously from Wai-kanāe.” The attack was made at night, and apparently Ngati-Toa did not expect it at that time. At the northern end of the island, near Wai-o-rua—where was one of the Ngati-Toa villages—“a man and two women were living in a house much higher up the hill than the main village. They heard the fleet approaching and cried out with a loud voice, ‘*E puta ki waho! Ko te whakaariki! Ko te whakaariki!*’—(‘Come forth! The army! The army!’) As the daylight began to appear we saw the enemy in thousands, like a black mass on the waters, and then we perceived the *rau-kura* and *toroa* plumes of the chiefs. They came on until they were close to the shore, and then could be heard the voice of Pararaha (a woman of Wairarapa) shouting out, ‘*Tikarohia te marama! Tikarohia! Tikarohia te marama!*’—(‘Scoop out the moon,’ etc.—meaning, select the chiefs to kill). Soon we closed in battle on the beach to oppose their landing, and the *matangohi*, or first one killed of the enemy, was thrust through by a long spear from the shore. The second one was the woman Pararaha.”

Mr. Shand says (J.P.S., Vol. I., p. 87) it was some of the Taranaki *hapus* who were living at Wai-o-rua who were first attacked, and it was they, under Tu-mokemoke and Te Pa-kai-ahi, who repulsed the enemy there. This is probably correct, for Mr. Shand had opportunities of hearing particulars of this and other events from the old Ati-Awa people who took part in them. Mr. Travers’ account is largely from Matene Te Whiwhi of Ngati-Toa, who naturally gives all the credit of the affair to his own tribe. Moreover, Mr. Travers had to obtain his information through an interpreter, whereas Mr. Shand, who is one of

our real Maori scholars—not a mere linguist—would get it first hand. That Tu-mokemoke of Ati-Awa was there is also proved by other information.

Amongst the details of this fight that have been handed down is a saying of Te Kotuku's, "*E Tai-whenua* e ! Kawhakina nga whetu !*"—("O relatives ! Catch the stars !"—*i.e.*, be sure to kill the chiefs of the enemy, who are likened to stars).

Contingents of Ngati-Toa now came up from Ranga-tira—a little to the south of Wai-o-rua—and attacked the enemy with fury. Te Rau-paraha was at his home at Taepiro, a little further again to the south. A messenger was sent off in all haste to summon him and his immediate followers. To quote again from Mr. Travers, "Before, however, Te Rau-paraha could reach the scene of conflict, the enemy had succeeded in landing and pushing Ngati-Toa towards Wai-o-rua—near the northern end of the island. Pokai-tara, who was in command of that party, being desirous of gaining time in order to admit of the arrival of reinforcements, proposed a truce to the enemy, which was granted by Rangi-maire-hau of Ngati-Apa, who, on his part, hoped to land the rest of his forces and then crush Ngati-Toa. Shortly after the truce had been agreed to, Te Rau-paraha and his warriors reached the scene of action and at once renewed the battle with the utmost vigour, and after a long and sanguinary conflict completely defeated the invaders with tremendous slaughter; not less than one hundred and seventy dead bodies being left on the beach, while numbers were drowned in attempting to reach the canoes that were still at sea.

"The remainder of the fleet made their way back with all speed to Wai-kanae and other points on the coast, where many of them landed, abandoning their canoes to Ngati-Toa, who had commenced an immediate pursuit. . . . The result of this battle was in every way advantageous to Ngati-Toa, for no further attempt was ever made to dislodge them, while they, on the other hand, lost no opportunity of strengthening their position and of wreaking vengeance on the Ngati-Apa, Rangi-tane, and Mua-upoko, the remnant of whom they ultimately reduced to the condition of the merest tributaries; many of the leading chiefs, including Te Hakeke, becoming slaves."

In this fight Tawhi, a young chief of high rank from the Ngati-Tu-matakokiri tribe of Massacre Bay, was the only prisoner taken. He was (?) a son of Tu-te-pourangi, the principal chief of the tribe. We shall see later on the vengeance that Te Rau-paraha executed on these southern tribes, in which the Ati-Awa played a very important part.

* Tai-whenua, I take to be the same as toi-whenua, meaning : 1st, the people of any place ; 2nd, the home and birthplace of anyone.

One of those peculiar incidents common in Maori warfare occurred just as the battle was over and the defeated allies departing from Kapiti. Hine-wai-roro, a woman of Ngati-Toa, recognising a man in one of the canoes with whom she had formerly been intimate, swam off to the canoe, and persuaded this man to come ashore and be her husband. On reaching the shore, her father would not give his consent, and immediately tomahawked the man, who thus became the *ika-whakaotinga*, or last one killed.

Here, for a time, we must leave the wily chief of Ngati-Toa to gloat over his victory and return to Taranaki.

TE HEKE NIHO-PUTA.

1824.

The above is the name of the second exodus of the North Taranaki tribes to Otaki and that neighbourhood, near Kapiti. The word means "Boar's tusk," and we shall see why it was so called very shortly. Rangi-pito says that this *heke* took place about a year after Te Rau-paraha left Ure-nui; but this cannot be right. Mr. Shand, Mr. Travers, and Watene Taungatara all agree that it occurred after Wai-o-rua, so it must have been in 1824. They started away in the winter of that year.

Rangi-pito says, "Sometime after the battle of Te Motu-nui (about December, 1822), a man named Kainga, belonging to the Ngati-Mutunga tribe of Ure-nui, went on a visit to his relations at Waikato, the Ngati-Apakura tribe. Whilst there, Turi-manu, of the last-named tribe and a relative of Kainga's, warned him that Waikato had not forgotten or forgiven Ati-Awa for defeating them at Te Motu-nui, nor were they unmindful of the many reverses they had suffered at the hands of Ngati-Tama at and near Pou-tama. Kainga was also informed that Waikato would soon take an opportunity of avenging these losses—'Te Motu-nui could never be forgotten.'" Kainga replied, "Waikato came of their own accord, and hence we fought and beat them." Turi-manu then said, "You had better all leave and go to Kapiti. Abandon your country or Waikato will eat you." From others Kainga got the same advice, and so on his return home he told Ngati-Mutunga what he had heard, which caused considerable apprehension; and after discussion it was decided to migrate and join Te Rau-paraha. This was the origin of the "Niho-puta" *heke*.

With this migration also returned to Kapiti many of those who came back to their homes after the massacre of the Mua-upoko at Horo-whenua. The Ngati-Mutunga was the tribe that furnished the largest contribution to the party, but there were also members of the Ngati-Hinetuhi, Kai-tangata, Te Kekerewai, Ngati-Hine-uru, Ngati-Tama, and others, under the chiefs Rere-tawhangawhanga (who died at Wai-kanae, 26th September, 1843), Te Puoho, Te Arahua, Te Poki,

Ngatata,* and many others. Generally, most of the people from the White Cliffs to Waitara went away in this *heke*, including some from Pou-tama; but not all, some remained behind to keep "the fires burning." The movements of this *heke* had been hastened by receipt of the news that all the tribes on the coast were about to combine and attempt to annihilate Te Rau-paraha at Kapiti. This news seems to have dispelled the feeling that some of those who had accompanied Te Rau-paraha on his migration had against the latter for his overbearing conduct, and Ngati-Mutunga were again ready to help him, as they did at Motu-nui. They arrived too late, however, for Wai-o-rua had been fought and won when they got to Otaki.

This was a very large *heke*; the estimate of the armed men alone runs from four hundred to five hundred and forty, besides women, children, and old people. Before starting, Rere-tawhangawhanga of Waitara had said to Rore (Te Manihera, of the Kai-tangata *hapu*, who afterwards died at Arapaoa Island) that the opportunity should not be lost of punishing Ngati-Rua-nui and Nga-Rauru for the part they had taken in killing some of the previous *heke*, as already related. The party passed through the forest by the Whakaahu-rangi track and thence onward through the Ngati-Rua-nui territories, where they seized the opportunity of attacking one of the *pas*, and took it; but all the people escaped away inland. From Patea they travelled by the sandy beach to Wai-totara, and then went inland to Te Ihu-puku *pa* (just seaward of the railway bridge). Arrived there, some of the Nga-Rauru people were met with, who received the party in a friendly manner and induced many of them to visit and be their guests, under the pretence of being hospitably entertained. Aware that a massacre was intended, Tama-i-akina of Nga-Rauru warned the strangers to keep together and not go to separate villages. Owing, however, to the pressing invitations of Nga-Rauru, this good advice was neglected, and the party dispersed in twos and threes to various houses. This was just what Nga-Rauru wanted; it enabled them to take their guests in detail; nor were they long about it, for directly the separation took place they commenced killing the strangers in several places at once without the others being aware of what was going on. One man of Nga-Rauru came to a house where several of the strangers were, together with a number of the local people. He said, "*Kū' patua noatia taku niho-puta† mo te rurenga*."—"My pig-with-tusks has long since been killed for the guests"; which was the signal to the others,

* Uncle of Pomare (not Pomare of Nga-Puhi), afterwards so well known at the Chatham Islands.

† From this expression the migration derives its name.

who then rose and killed nearly all the strangers within the house. Mr. Shand says, "An old man named Hone Potete, who heard this and escaped, in telling the story afterwards, said, 'I suspected there was treachery, and sitting beside my companion, with my big toe-nail scratched him *kia whiwha* to indicate that we should attack our hosts, but he was afraid to do so. They attacked and killed many of us, but the bulk escaped.' After this the escapees made their way to Ihu-puku, where the bulk of the *heke* were camped. Te Poki remained with the party at Ihu-puku, whilst Ketu was the principal man who went inland when the massacre took place."

"The *heke*," says Rangi-pito, "now went on their way, not stopping to avenge the deaths, but postponing that for the future. They reached Whanganui without further trouble, nor were they molested here, for the people of the place were all away inland up the river. Had there been any there, some fighting would have taken place." And so the migration passed on to Wai-kanae, on arrival at which place they found that the combined force of the allies had been defeated by Ngati-Toa at the fight of Wai-o-rua. On their arrival and occupation of Wai-kanae and the adjacent country, the Ngati-Toa were so strengthened that they were able again to return to the mainland to cultivate and live, a thing it had been impossible for them to do for some time past, for the remnant of Mua-upoko and Rangi-tane were always on the watch to pounce on any unwary straggler of Ngati-Toa.

Mr. Travers says that Te Puoho (whom he confused with Puaha of Ngati-Toa) came down to Kapiti to learn the truth about the attack on that island, and finding Te Rau-paraha had been entirely successful, he returned to Taranaki, and then it was that the "Heke-niho-puta" started. This is quite likely, but I have no notes bearing on the subject. With them, he adds, came a party of Ngati-Whakaterere *hapu* of Ngati-Rau-kawa. This accession of force demands a little more space than Mr. Travers has given to it.

FIRST MIGRATION OF NGATI-RAU-KAWA.

TE RUA-MAIORO'S DEFEAT.

(? 1824 or 1825.)

The result of Te Rau-paraha's visit to the Ngati-Rau-kawa tribe in 1822, to try and obtain their assistance in settling the Cook's Straits country, was to be achieved at last. But the tribe was unwilling to leave the homes they had occupied so long, and apparently did not entirely believe in placing themselves so much under Te Rau-paraha's *mana*.

Hence it was that they first attempted to conquer the Hawkes Bay country with a view to settling there. The pressure of Ngati-Haua, Ngati-Paoa, and other tribes on their northern frontiers, which tribes

were fast acquiring muskets from vessels visiting the Thames, Tauranga, etc., and the old enmity existing with Waikato, were all reasons why some move should be made. The tribe, in their attempt on Hawkes Bay, had been defeated at Pukenoanoa, and Te Momo (son of Te Whata-nui, principal chief of Ngati-Rau-kawa) had been killed at Te Roto-a-Tara. These causes combining seem again to have turned Ngati-Rau-kawa's thoughts towards joining Te Rau-paraha in the south. What the immediate causes of Te Rua-maioro's departure from the land of his fathers were, are not certain, for the information I have to trust to is very meagre. And as to the date, Mr. Travers' statement to the effect that part of the migration came down with the "Heke-niho-puta" is the most precise I know of. If this is right, then Rua-maioro must have left Maunga-tautari some time in 1824.

For most of what follows I am indebted to a book belonging to Hakiaha Tawhao of the Ngati-Hāua tribe of Upper Whanganui, obtained through the kindness of District Surveyor H. M. Skeet.

Hakiaha says, "The migration of Ngati-Rau-kawa, on its way to Otaki to join Te Rau-paraha, started from Maunga-tautari. The reason of this *heke* was on account of a fight which had taken place between Ngati-Mania-poto and Ngati-Rau-kawa, when Rangi-tahi was taken (? the name of a *pa*). This party of Ngati-Rau-kawa, under Te Rua-maioro, then migrated, going by way of Lake Taupo, where they attacked and took the island *pa* of Motu-o-puhi, in Roto-a-Ira Lake, and there slaughtered a great many people, amongst whom was Whare-rangi, father of Matu-aha.*

From Te Roto-a-Ira, Rua-maioro and his party crossed the country through the forest to Makokoti *pa*, situated at the junction of the Rere-taruke with the Whanganui river. This *pa* belonged to Topine-Te-Mamaku of Ngati-Hāua, and the reason of Ngati-Rau-kawa coming to attack that *pa* was because, on a former occasion, Topine had killed two people of Ngati-Rau-kawa named Hiki-tangi and Heke-a-wai. Whilst they were attacking this *pa* the migration was joined by some of the local people under Ngaru-piki and Parata, who thus turned against their own tribe. The invaders in their turn were attacked by eight hundred of the Whanganui tribes and driven from Makokoti. Te Rua-maioro retreated to Te Whara-riki, whilst Te Ngaru-piki proceeded up the Ohura river to bring down a further division of Ngati-Rau-kawa, but (apparently) before help arrived Te Rua-maioro was attacked at Te Whara-riki by the Whanganui people under Ha-marama (who had killed the Ngati-Whatua chief Tu-whare—see *ante*) and Te Pehi, and were defeated, Te Rua-maioro himself being killed. The *taua* of Whanganui now went to meet those of

* The Ngati-Maru tribe of the Thames were principally concerned in this fight, which was a very disastrous one for the Ngati-Tu-whare-toa tribe.

Ngati-Rau-kawa who were coming down the Ohura, and on meeting they defeated them, with the loss of one of the enemy's chiefs, Te Tahi, killed, whilst two other men of note—Rangi-au-kaka and Ngai-turu—were taken prisoners. Ngaru-piki (who had turned against his own tribe) was saved by Te Anaua of Whanganui." Hakiaha's account breaks off here, as the further proceedings of the defeated Ngati-Rau-kawa had nothing to do with the matter he was describing. But the remainder surviving after these fights were saved by Te Kotuku (a Whanganui chief), and made their way from Ohura, probably down the Whanganui river, and joined the Ati-Awa people in the "Heke-niho-puta." The chiefs of this Ngati-Rau-kawa migration were Te Rua-maioro, Te Mahunga, Te Paheka (all killed), Mahoro, Te Whare, Te Puke, Te Ao, Rourou-ao, and Tupaea. The *hapus* engaged in it were Ngati-Waiu-rehea and Ngati-Rangi. On the arrival of these people in the south, they first lived at Kapiti with Ngati-Toa, but some time after and when vessels began to frequent that island, they removed to the mainland in order to be near the flax swamps, where they engaged in dressing that material to exchange for muskets.

After the defeat and death of Te Rua-maioro, his head was cut off and preserved in the usual manner, and then taken to one of the Whanganui *pas* and stuck up on a *turuturu*, or rod. Whilst there Te Rua-maioro's wife, whose life had been saved by Whanganui, came into the *marae* of the *pa* and there, unexpectedly, found herself confronted with her dead husband's head. The poor thing sat down before it and bewailed her loss in a lament, which is still sung by her people.

TE PEHI-KUPE GOES TO ENGLAND.

1825—6.

About 1823 and 1824 ships began to frequent Kapiti to trade in the prepared fibre of the flax, and as the Maoris were paid in muskets and ammunition, Ngati-Toa gradually began to acquire a good many of these arms with which to extend their conquests to the South Island, which Te Rau-paraha had apparently long desired to carry into execution. The South Island people, having joined those living on the north shores of Cook's Straits in the unsuccessful attack on Ngati-Toa at Kapiti Island when the battle of Wai-o-rua was fought, gave Te Rau-paraha a further inducement to execute his project. It was just at this time—1824—that Te Pehi-kupe, emulating Hongi, made up his mind to visit England at the first opportunity in order to acquire arms and ammunition. From the Hon. R. McNab's "Historical Records of New Zealand," Vol. I., p. 635, we are able to ascertain the exact date that Te Pehi left. Captain Reynolds, of the ship "Uranea," writing to Earl Bathurst, 18th April, 1825, thus refers

to the matter:—"As I was passing through Cook's Straits on the 26th February, 1824, I was becalmed about five or six miles from the land when I perceived three canoes full of savages coming towards the ship. I then prepared the ship ready for action. The grand war-canoe then came within hail, and by motions I made them understand to keep off. The chief Tippahe Cupa (Te Pehi-kupe) showed every sign of peace, and I perceived shortly after they were all peaceably inclined. The chief, in his great war-canoe, came alongside, which I could not prevent unless I had fired into them; and if I had, a good deal of mischief might have been done. The man jumped on board naked (except a mat over his body, leaving the remainder of his dress in the canoe) and made signs for arms, and I gave him to understand I had none to give him, and then he led me to understand that he would stay on board and go to Europe and see King George, which words he pronounced plain enough to be understood. I then ordered him to go into his canoe again, but he had ordered her off and would not allow her to come near the ship. I attempted to heave him overboard so as the canoes might pick him up. But he, perceiving my design, put it out of my power. A breeze at that time springing up he ordered all the canoes to leave for the shore, and told them he was going to Europe and that he would soon return again (as he has told me since). The next day I attempted to put him ashore near the eastern mouth of Cook's Straits, and in doing so I only just escaped losing the ship, therefore I was obliged, much against my inclination, but to his satisfaction, to make sail and leave the island for my port of destination—Lima. . . . This man, when he came on board, was a complete savage, but I have taken a great deal of pains with him to civilize him, for when I was in Lima he lived ashore with me; wherever I went he went with me. He lived on shore with me at Monte Video and at Buenos Ayres, and all the time he was on board he lived at my table, and I clothed him and kept him clothed in European fashion ever since he came under my care. He has been a heavy expense to me these thirteen months." . . . Te Pehi was very ill in England and was nursed through it by Captain Reynolds. Captain Reynolds further reports—10th October, 1825—that Te Pehi "was taken on board H.M. hired ship 'The Thames' on Thursday last, agreeable to directions forwarded to me, and that he took with him a considerable quantity of wearing apparel, carpenters' tools, agricultural utensils, with sundry other articles necessary for his passage out and comfort when at New Zealand." The British Government paid Captain Reynolds a sum of £200, and expenses incurred in connection with Te Pehi, £48.

Te Pehi returned *via* Sydney, and from there got back to New Zealand, but the date is uncertain; it has been stated as 1829, but may have been earlier. He was eventually killed at Kaiapohia in

1830. The anonymous work entitled "The New Zealanders," published as one of the volumes of the "Library of Entertaining Knowledge," for 1830, describes Te Pehi's residence in England, and gives his portrait, etc.

ANOTHER WAIKATO OPE TO TARANAKI.

(1824 or 1825.)

It was said a few pages back that Waikato was threatening another expedition to Taranaki in order to secure some satisfaction for the death of their great chiefs at the battle of Te Motu-nui. The only account we have of this is to be found in W. Te Awa-i-taia's narrative,* which is very sketchy. Nearly all the Ati-Awa had gone south, and hence we have no information from their side. He says, "Some time after Te Motu-nui Waikato again went to Taranaki, and also Ngati-Paoa (of Hauraki Gulf), Ngati-Haua (of Upper Thames), Ngati-Mania-poto (of Waipa), Ngati-Mahanga, Ngati-Mahuta, Ngati-Hourua (of Waikato), Ngati-Te-Ata (of Waiuku and Manukau); in all, one thousand six hundred warriors. They went to Mokau, Pou-tama, and on to Te Taniwha, Waitara, Nga-Motu, and even as far as Taranaki (Cape Egmont, etc.). They found no men—all had fled to the mountains. We (Ngati-Tahinga) came back without doing anything, only that some of our people were slain on the mountains. On the return home the party came to the Tonga-porutu river, where some of the Waikato were killed, amongst them the chief Te Raro-tu-tahi. The payment for him was sixty of the Ngati-Tama, and Tu-hira, a woman of high rank, was captured there.

The war-party now returned to their homes at Waikato. They still bore in mind the good actions of those of Ati-Awa who had befriended Waikato in their need at Puke-rangi-ora, and therefore remained quiet and did not return to Taranaki for some time. But, nevertheless, they longed in their hearts to obtain satisfaction for the deaths of Te Hiakai and party at Te Motu-nui."

From this absence of people it is clear the incursion of Waikato took place after the departure of the "Niho-puta" *heke*, either late in 1824 or early in 1825.

THE ATI-AWA OCCUPY PORT NICHOLSON.†

1825—6.

On the arrival of Ngati-Mutunga and others in the "Niho-puta" migration, they settled down for a time at Wai-kanae, but not for very

* A.H.M., Vol. VI., p. 4.

† Most of the places mentioned in the neighbourhood of Port Nicholson will be found on Map No. 6, which has been printed chiefly to preserve a large number of Maori names of places which would otherwise possibly be lost. Most of the names were supplied by old Maoris to Mr. Elsdon Best and myself, with later additions by

long. Rangi-pito says they remained there for about a year and then the whole party moved on to Port Nicholson (Whanga-nui-a-Tara), which country was then in the occupation of the Ngati-Ira tribe, or, at least, as many of them as had been spared after the terrible harrying they received from the former expedition of Tu-whare and Te Rau-paraha in 1819-20. Many of Ati-Awa, together with Ngati-Tama first settled at Ohariu—a place on Cook's Straits directly west of Wellington—and whilst there they were visited by Topine Te Mamaku of Upper Whanganui, who was an old ally of Ngati-Tama. From here they moved on to Port Nicholson. On the arrival of the *heke* they settled down on the shores of the harbour, right in the centre of what is now the City of Wellington, forming a series of villages extending from Te Aro to Kai-wharawhara. The Ngati-Tama occupied Rau-rimu, which is that part around Fitzherbert Terrace, and their cultivations extended down to the stream Tiaki-wai—that ran down where the Tinakori road now is. The Ati-Awa cultivations also extended over the Otari (Tinakori) hills and beyond, that is, in suitable places, and there were several villages scattered about that part of Thorndon, such as Pa-kuao—just where Tinakori road came out to the beach; Kopae-parawai, top of Hobson street; Nga-pakoko, near the present Manawatu Railway Station; Kumu-toto at the bottom of Bowen street; Pipitea, a large village fronting the beach, just under Bishops court; besides another large village at Te Aro. The present village of Nga-urunga (the landing places) bears an old Ngati-Ira name. At this time the whole of Thorndon was under cultivation—the Ati-Awa being the first to fell the bush which formerly covered the country—for the Ngati-Ira had no or very few cultivations anywhere; they lived on fern-root, fish, shell-fish, and the root of a plant called *āka*, which Rangi-pito says formerly was in great abundance growing over the hills, but has been utterly destroyed by pigs and cattle. It was like the *wharawhara* (*astelia*) in appearance, with long roots, which, when cooked in the oven, furnished a sustaining food. The Ngati-Mutunga also had a village at Maro-kai-kura—a little bay three-fourths of a mile inside Evans Bay, on the east side.

When Ati-Awa occupied these parts, the Ngati-Kahungunu and Ngati-Ira were living on the east side of the harbour, but the relations

Mr. H. N. McLeod, of Wellington, to whose researches are also due the many indications of old *pas*, villages, and other signs of former Maori occupation scattered over the Hataitai, or Whataitai (Miramar) Peninsula, and along the coast south-westerly from there, and in some other parts. In some cases the locality of Mr. McLeod's names differ from those of Mr. Best's, in which case the former are queried (?) on the map, though so doing does not necessarily mean that they are wrong. Owing to the frequently rocky nature of the soil in this neighbourhood, the old *pas* were not of the formidable nature of those in other parts and consequently their remains are much less distinct.

between the two parties were not very friendly, as may be imagined. In the end Ati-Awa attacked the local people at Parawa-nui (or Paraoa-nui), and drove them away to Wai-rarapa. All this time Ngati-Toa were in occupation of Kapiti and Mana Islands, many miles away, but communication was kept up between the allies, for the intervening country had been fairly cleared of the original inhabitants.

I cannot do better than quote Mr. Shand's account of the doings of Ati Awa at this period of their history, for he has had many opportunities of hearing the old men who actually took part in these operations describe them. He says (J.P.S., Vol. I., p. 90), "After arriving and taking possession of Port Nicholson, the Ngati-Tama section soon after moved to Wai-rarapa, but previously had assisted Ngati-Mutunga in treacherously murdering the Ngati-Ira,* a section of the Ngati-Kahungunu tribe, who were the former owners of Port Nicholson. The Ngati-Ira were destroyed at Wai-whetu (Hutt valley), Te Mahau, Whio-rau at Okiwi (by Patu-kawenga), Kohanga-te-ra (just outside Pencarrow Head), Orongorongo (a little to the east of the above, on the coast), and at Paraoa-nui."

"When the *heke* first arrived at Port Nicholson the Ngati-Ira, though taking no active measures to eject them, evidently did not like the state of affairs, but perhaps somewhat undervalued their enemies, one of them making use of the proverb, '*Kia mahaki ra ano te kauae o Poua, ka riro ai te whenua*'—('When Poua's jawbone becomes loose, then the land may be taken.') Poua, it is said, was an ancestor, as well as the name of a rock—Te Kauae-o-Poua—near Te Rimu-rapa (Sinclair's Head). Both tribes lived in their respective *kaingas* for some time apparently in friendship, constantly seeing and visiting one another."

"Meanwhile, some of the Ngati-Tama had made friends with the Ngati-Kahungunu chiefs Heke and Taka-paua, who joined them in a visit to their friends at Wai-kanae. Heke stayed with Kekerengu and his relatives on the way."

NGATI-IRA OF PORT NICHOLSON.

Here I interrupt Mr. Shand's narrative for a moment. Kekerengu, together with his father Whanake, were at that time the principal chiefs of Ngati-Ira, and the latter lived at a place called Komanga-rautawhiri—a point on the coast a little to the south of Titahi Bay, a place about one and a-half miles south of Porirua Harbour. All of the country around Porirua was Ngati-Ira land originally, and they had many settlements about the harbour, though very few *pas*; indeed, they do not seem to have used them to anything like the same extent as the tribes living a little to the north of them. The place where Whanake

* See J.P.S., Vol. XV., p. 74, for a sketch of the Ngati-Ira history.

lived was a terrace overlooking Cook's Straits, from which he could see the vessels as they passed, and (a little later than this date) when ships began to trade for flax along this coast the sailors used to visit Whanake at his home—his *kainga-taketake*. Ships anchored under the lee of Mana Island—just opposite to Komanga-rau-tawhiri. Whanake had two other names, Huka and Tai-oru-a-Tapu, and his wife was the celebrated beauty, Tamai-rangi—a lady of the Ngati-Kuia tribe of Aropaoa Island, Queen Charlotte Sound. Immediately to the south of Komanga-rau-tawhiri is a cave called after her, Te Ana-a-Tamai-rangi; again, a sand-bank in Porirua Harbour is called the food-store of this lady—Te Whata-kai-a-Tamai-rangi. She is said to have been as great a chieftainess as Hine-matiaro of Tologa Bay. When she travelled from village to village she was never allowed to walk, for her male attendants always carried her. On public occasions she was handsomely dressed in the finest mats, with plumes of albatross feathers in her hair, and a long and richly-carved *taiaha* in her hand.

Te Kekerengu (or Taiaha) was the son of these two people, and was said to have been an exceedingly handsome man. He lived a little above Te Ana-paura—a point about a mile south of Komanga-rau-tawhiri—with an outlook over Cook's Straits. Te Kekerengu was one of those who aided in the naval demonstration against Kapiti Island, already referred to, but at the time we write of, or, maybe, it was a little later on, according to Te Karihana of Ngati-Toa, there was peace between the latter tribe and Ngati-Ira; for at one time Ngati-Toa occupied all the north and north-west side of Porirua, whilst Ngati-Ira held the south side. But after a time the two tribes came to loggerheads again. Ngati-Ira were living in scattered villages and cultivations around Porirua, and had no large settlements. They used to be annoyed by their neighbours—the Ngati-Toa—helping themselves to the food, using their fishing places, and generally carrying matters with a high hand. On one occasion some of Ngati-Ira, being annoyed beyond endurance, killed some of the Ngati-Toa, and this led to reprisals on the part of the latter, ending in most of Ngati-Ira being slaughtered. When Whanake heard of the preparations of Ngati-Toa to exterminate them, he said “*Waiho kia awatea, kia kitea hoki e taua te riri o te Pakeha.*”—(“Let us wait till daylight that we may see the kind of fighting of these Pakehas”—using the latter word to signify Ngati-Toa, because they fought with *Pakeha*, or European weapons. Whanake, however, was not killed at this time but a few years afterwards, in a raid on Kaikoura to avenge the death of his son.

About this same period also another great lady named Ngare-wai, who was either Ngati-Ira or Rangi-tane (my informant is not sure of which), lived about Porirua, who was, like Tamai-rangi, very *tapu*, and had great influence over her people. She was taken prisoner on one occasion by Ngati-Toa, and on her captors assigning burdens to her to

carry, they found she could not do the work, but was always sitting down resting, whilst the shoulder straps of flax cut into her arms. Her fellow prisoners of her own tribe, as far as they were allowed, took all her load from her. It was then that Ngati-Toa discovered what a great lady she was. She had never in her life been accustomed to carry burdens and consequently after this they treated her better. On one occasion Ngare-wai sat on a place which belonged to Topeora, Te Rau-paraha's niece—herself a chieftainess of great rank. She was reproved by Ngati-Toa for doing so, as Topeora's seat was *tapu*. "O!" said some of Ngare-wai's people, "Topeora's *tapu* is as nothing compared to that of Ngare-wai. Topeora has to cover her eyes in passing Nga-whatu (Brothers Islets, Cook's Straits) but Ngare-wai has no occasion to do so." It was the custom for all strangers to cover their eyes and not look at the islets in crossing the Straits, or the result would be a sudden storm. Ngare-wai's *mana* was sufficient to disregard this custom.

Tamai-rangi's influence was very great; it extended along the shores of Cook's Straits from the Ngati-Rua-nui boundaries on the north as far as Maunga-rake (near Masterton), in the Wairarapa country, where her sphere was bounded by that of Hine-matiaro of Tologa Bay. The respect and almost veneration in which she was held must have been due to her character as well as her high descent. She was a direct descendant of Ira, the eponymous ancestor of Ngati-Ira.

To continue Mr. Shand's narrative: (After this visit of Ngati-Tama and Ngati-Kahungunu to Te Kekerengu and Ngati-Toa at Porirua), "Te Poki, one of the principal chiefs of Ngati-Mutunga, proposed to massacre the Ngati-Ira of Port Nicholson, otherwise they might, he was afraid, take the initiative and Ngati-Mutunga might suffer. Acting on this proposal a body of Ngati-Mutunga, with their tomahawks concealed, went to the Ngati-Ira *kaingas*, ostensibly on a visit of friendship. The moment having arrived, a Waikato chief of Ngati-Koroki, named Taiu, who had been adopted as one of the tribe of Ngati-Mutunga and had married Patu-kawenga's sister Tipi, gave the signal, 'turn the edge' (*huri kiko*), and in an instant the slaughter of Ngati-Ira commenced. After a number had been slain, the remnant fled to Tapu-tē-ranga—the little islet outside Port Nicholson, in Island Bay."*

On this small islet was a *pa* in former times, and hither the remnant of Ngati-Ira fled for refuge; with them being their great chieftainess Tamai-rangi, but her husband Whanake was not there. Just before Ngati-Mutunga succeeded in capturing the island *pa*, her people carried her off by canoe round Cape Te Rimu-rapa (Sinclair's Head) and Cape

* See Plate 13 which shows the islet, but it is probably reduced somewhat in size since it was occupied as a *pa*.

Te Rawhiti to a little bay named Ohariu, on Cook's Straits, due west of Wellington. Whilst here, she and her party were captured by some of Ngati-Mutunga, with some of her children, but they were not put to death. Dreading, however, that the usual fate would meet her, she asked her captors to be allowed to sing a farewell to her people and her lands. This lament was of so pathetic a nature* that it appealed to Te Rangi-haeata of Ngati-Toa, who begged Ati-Awa that she might be given to him, and, on their compliance, she and her children were taken to Kapiti Island, where they lived for some time, but eventually fled to the South Island.

Mr. Best has a note to the effect that when the island *pa* of Tapu-tē-ranga was besieged by Ngati-Mutunga, there was a chief of Ngati-Ira there named Te Wera, who effected his escape by canoe and eventually made his way as far south as Raki-ura, or Stewart's Island, where he died. I cannot say if this man is identical with the noted Te Wera who so distinguished himself in Otago; but Ngati-Ira and Ngai-Tahu of those parts were closely related. Ngati-Ira had two *pas*—the first on the south side of Titahi Bay, just to the south of Porirua Harbour, named Koro-hiwa; and Te Pa-o-Kapo, just to the north side of that bay, the *maioro* of which are still to be seen.

In Ngati-Ira times there dwelt at O-te-rongo, between Island Bay and Cape Te Rawhiti, a famous *ngarara*, or *taniwha*, who, however, was not of the man-eating variety. Whenever any traveller lit a fire near its abode, the monster came up from the sea and extinguished the fire and always, directly afterwards, arose a great *tonga* or south-easter. Such is one of the old-time stories that give an interest to these places when they are known.

Te Kume-roa tells me that Ngati-Ira killed a Ngati-Kahungunu chief at a spot a little to the east of Pencarrow Head, and in the fight a valuable greenstone *mere* was lost there. It has often been searched for but never found.

The details of the relations between the various tribes at about this period are somewhat difficult to make out, but it is clear that Tamai-rangi's son, Te Kekerengu, lived in friendship with Ngati-Toa whilst his people were being massacred by Ngati-Toa's allies, and it was probably due to this friendship that his mother, Tamai-rangi, was saved.

SECOND MIGRATION OF NGATI-RAU-KAWA.

1825.

It was not long after Ati-Awa occupied Port Nicholson that a second party of Ngati-Rau-kawa, under Te Ahu-karamu, one hundred and twenty strong, came down from Maunga-tautari to see how Te

* Enquiries have failed to obtain a copy of this lament.

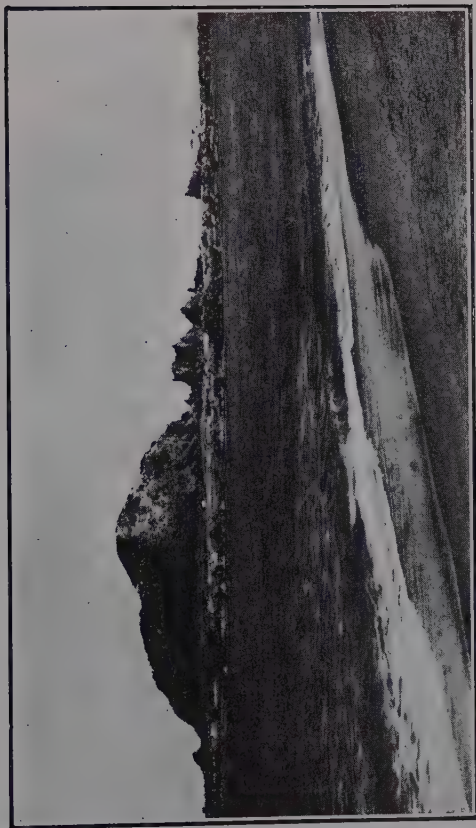


Photo. by M. C. Smith.

PLATE No. 13.

Tapu-te-ranga Island—an old *pa* formerly.

Rau-paraha was getting on. Mr. Travers says they arrived shortly after the battle of Wai-o-rua. Readers are referred to Mr. Travers' account of the subsequent proceedings of this period;* all that is necessary here is to say that Te Ahu-karamu, finding matters going well with Te Rau-paraha, returned to Maunga-tautari and brought down another reinforcement of Ngati-Rau-kawa; with which party came Te Whata-nui, principal chief of that tribe, and Te Heuheu, of Taupo, head chief of Ngati-Tu-whare-toa, on a visit. It was at that time Te Whata-nui decided to remove to the shores of Cook's Straits—a project which he subsequently carried out.

THE DEATH OF TE KARAWA.

1826.

We must return to Taranaki for a time to relate some trouble that occurred just at this period between the Ati-Awa, Taranaki, and Ngati-Rua-nui tribes, that eventually brought Waikato down on another of their great expeditions. We have the means of fixing the period of this event through the fact of Nga-tata's journey to Waikato, where he arrived the second time just after the Nga-Puhi chief Pomare had been killed on the Waipa river in May, 1826.

Te Whare-pouri, one of if not the principal chief of the Nga-Motu *hapu* of Ati-Awa, whose residence was at the Sugar-loaf Islands, near New Plymouth, for some reason with which I am not acquainted, went with a party of his people to the country of the Ngati-Rua-nui, to Putake *pa*, situated between the Tangahoe and Mangarata streams, one and a-quarter miles north-east from Te Ruaki, or four and a-half miles north-east-by-east of Hawera. This is a celebrated *pa* and one of the largest in the district; it is described as over half a mile long and had an immense *marae*. In this place Te Karawa's skin was used on a hoop. The chiefs living here were Ngeru and Whare-matangi. With Te Whare-pouri were Rangi-wahia of Ngati-Mutunga and Te Karawa, a son of Te Moe, sister to Raua-ki-tua (another of the high chiefs of Ati-Awa, Nga-Motu *hapu*). Te Karawa was a very fine, handsome young man of the best blood of Ati-Awa. Whilst here, Te Karawa and another young man went into the Ngati-Rua-nui *pa* with the object of plundering, and were caught red-handed by the owners of the *pa*. After consultation it was decided to kill the two young men, and this was done, it is said, on the advice of Te Hana-taua, head chief of Ngati-Rua-nui.

When the news of this reached Te Whare-pouri's party, it was decided to attack Ngati-Rua-nui at once. But the latter advanced to meet them, and in a fight that ensued Ngati-Rua-nui were beaten,

* Transactions New Zealand Institute, Vol. V., p. 68, *et seq.*

losing some of their chiefs, but the *pa* was not taken. After this the *Ati-Awa ope* returned home.

It is obvious that *Ati-Awa* were not so successful in the above fight as they say they were, for in order to obtain further revenge for *Te Karawa's* death they invited the *Waikato* tribes to help them. There was great lamentation over *Te Karawa's* death, for he was certainly one of the high chiefs of *Ati-Awa*.

The *Ngati-Rua-nui* people adopted a very peculiar method of showing their feelings towards *Te Karawa's* relatives, for after killing and eating him and his companion, they skinned the *rape*, or tattooed part of his buttocks, and stretching the skin over a hoop of supple-jack, they used this as a hoop, and trundled it backwards and forwards in the *marae* of the *pa* amidst the shouts and jeers of the assembled people. The bones of the victims were also made into fish-hooks, which were used to catch fish at *Opunake*.

NGATATA GOES TO WAIKATO.

When *Raua-ki-tua*, *Tautara* and *Nga-tata* heard of this most grievous insult to the body of their relative, they determined on revenge; and it was decided to send messengers to *Waikato* to ask their aid. Doubtless, *Ati-Awa* felt that *Ngati-Rua-nui* and *Taranaki*, which latter tribe seems to have been drawn into the quarrel, would be too much for their diminished forces, after so many warriors had gone south in the "*Niho-puta*" *heke* to join *Te Rau-paraha*. *Ngatata*,* says my informant, although a man of influence, was not a chief of supreme rank. He was the father of the late *Pomare* of *Ati-Awa*; but *Raua-ki-tua* was a man of great power and influence, a very tall, fine-looking man, with a large nose. It was arranged that *Ngatata* should visit *Waikato* and endeavour to enlist the help of that tribe. He went to *Mote-poho* to interview *Te Wherowhero* and *Te Kanawa*, and then on to *Nganga-toatoa* to see *Pehi-Tu-korehu* (of *Ngati-Mania-poto*), where all the chiefs of *Waikato* assembled. At the latter place, at the meeting held to hear his message, he appeared as a suppliant before the assembled tribe dressed in a kilt made of the dried husks of Indian corn, with a whalebone *mere* in his hand, and there sung his *tau*, or lay, expressive of his wishes. This was a common method of enlisting the aid of a strange tribe in the quarrels of another. The *tau* has been preserved; it is as follows:—

TE TAU A NGATATA.

Moe mai E Tama, i runga te onepu,
Ko te kainga tena o Toa-rangatira,
Me ko Maui toa i whano kia hinga,

* *Ngatata* (if the same) went down in the "*Niho-puta*" migration. But they were always returning back again in small parties, and, probably, *Ngatata* came home with one of these.

I komia atu ai te waha, ko nga iwi,
 Me ko "Kura-hau-po" te mate ra koe,
 Ka wewete te taura, ka tuku i to punga,
 Ka hou i tona hou, ka tau ki te moana—e—i
 E iri, E Koro ! i runga i a Iwi,
 Ko te waka tena o Tahatuna.
 Te waka o Manaia, ko Nuku-tama-roa,
 Te Ika-hui-rua, pokina ki roto Whatu-te-ihi,
 Huna e Whiro, ko Ngana-i-te-irihia,
 Ka kapo i te kai, ko kona ko kai-kino,
 Tenei au, e te hoa ! te whakataua pa-eke-ipu,
 Taia atu Kopiri i a Maru-uhi,
 I wehi i a Maru, nukurau to mate na—i.
 Waiho me tatari te ruru pae-nui,
 Ki te pu o te tiu, i te hau mata kaha,
 Kia kimihiia atu kei whea ra koe,
 Kei tua o Tamaki ; e kore e kitea,
 E pokipoki ai te umu o te hau,
 Kei puaki to hounga—e—i.
 He kawa ta te taua e—i, e whata ana ra,
 Ki te whanau a Rangi na—i,
 Tikina atu ra ko te kahui-po,
 Oho ake ki te ao, ka rongu te tangata
 Ka hotu te taua e, i, e hotu ana ra,
 Ki te ika wareware.
 Waiho atu riri, waiho atu nguha,
 Ka noho Tu-kai-taua e—i.

KIKI-WHENUA AND MARU.

1826.

The song of Ngatata had the desired effect of rousing Waikato, who probably thought it also a good opportunity of wiping out some of the scores they had against the southern tribes. Te Awa-i-taia says (A.H.M., Vol. VI., p. 4) not a *hapu* of Waikato remained behind. There are said to have been four thousand warriors in the *ope*. This large party was under the principal leadership of Te Pae-tahuna, Te Kanawa (of Waikato), Te Waharoa (of Ngati-Haua), Kaihau (of Ngati-Te-Ata), Tarapipipi (of Ngati-Haua), Te Awa-i-taia (of Ngati-Tahinga, Waikato), and Te Kohu-wai—who was subsequently killed by Te Kongutu-awa (of Taranaki) at Kapuni river, near Orangi-tua-peka. As they came through Northern Taranaki they were joined by some of Ngati-Tama and Ngati-Mutunga (of Ure-nui). They stayed a while at Manu-korihi, Waitara, and whilst here Te Awa-i-taia and all his tribe (the Ngati-Tahinga of Raglan) dug a pit in the earth and placed in it a canister of powder and one hundred bullets, by which action they intended to lay claim to the country. Thence they went on to Puke-tapu, where Te Manu-tohe-roa joined them. Rangi-pito says that Waikato attacked Ati-Awa at Puke-tapu, but I can conceive no reason for this, especially as it was some of the Puke-tapu

hapus who had assisted Waikato at the siege of Puke-rangi-ora in 1821. At Nga-motu, Raua-ki-tua, Tau-tara, Te Whare-pouri, and Titoko joined the Waikato forces, and then the whole party went on to the Taranaki territories to O-komako-rau, where in a fight the Taranaki people were defeated. The Taranaki people call this fight "Kiki-whenua"—it is near Pungarehu—and say that they inflicted heavy loss on Waikato and Ati-Awa, but the strength of the invaders was too much for them, and they had to flee to the forests and secret hiding places at the base of Mount Egmont and the gorges of the Okahu river. Te Kahui of Taranaki says: "But long ere the forces of Waikato had appeared in the district, the news had spread that such a war-party was coming, and the various *hapus* of Taranaki centering round Cape Egmont—from the Koru *pa* (on the Oakura river) to Papaka-ka-tiro (at the mouth of the Punehu river, two miles south of Opunake, near Pihama)—had agreed to retire to Maru, at the base of the mountain, and there provide a place of safety for the women and children. The Ngati-Haupoto *hapu* was appointed to decide upon the place, and when this was done the other *hapus*, as follows, proceeded thither: Ngati-Haupoto, Ngati-Rangi, and Ngati-Tama-kumu under Mouri-o-rangi, Porora-iti, Rakei-moko, Pu-ki-waho, and Tu-tahau, who occupied Ahu-kawakawa; Ngati-Tama-kumu were under Rua-te-whatawhata*; Ngati-whare under Tutere and Kere-papaka, who also occupied Ahu-kawakawa, Te One-hahau, and Pakihere; Ngati-Hine *hapu* under Iwi-maire and Tama-rapa; the Ngati-Rongo, Ngati-kura, and Ngati-Tama-iwi *hapus* occupied Whatitiri-nui and Pakihere; others occupied Ahi-titi, Te Kaha-roa, Puke-kokako, Ahi-tutuku-rua, and Nga-koaoao. A specially secret and secure place called Te Puna-o-okahu was selected as a retreat for the women and children when the time came. This place was situated in the deep gorges of the Okahu stream, on the slopes of Mount Egmont. Houses were erected and bush felled to start cultivations. One old man of Ngati-Tu-heke-rangi, named Te Ao-moko, together with Taimona, took up their abode far up the mountain. The name Maru was given to this series of settlements because of the shelter (*maru*) they afforded to the tribes in their time of trouble. It was after Kiki-whenua the places were occupied by the men, and this latter name was derived from a word used in a *matakite*, or vision, of one of the Waikato *tohungas*, who therein saw, and afterwards declared, the fall of the Taranaki people when the battle should take place and the subsequent flight of the people to a place of safety."

"This people of Taranaki all gathered at Maru on the news of the advance of Waikato armed with guns, which they had obtained from the Nga-Puhi together with other European property. When our people were attacked at Maru, Taranaki was badly beaten; how could it be

* Taimona was his later name.

otherwise? How could our native weapons approach near enough to be effective against the guns? What could the *pou-whenua*, the *tai-aha*, the *tewhatewha*, the *koikoi*, the *kurutai*, the *mere-pounamu*, or other Maori weapons do against muskets? Hence great were the losses of Taranaki; many were killed, many taken prisoners and made slaves of and taken back to Waikato.* Our people thought that in thus assembling at the base of Mount Egmont and in our forest hiding places that we should escape death, but the guns were too much for us and great were our losses. Had it been as of yore when all fought with native weapons, Waikato would have been defeated; we should have cut them off in detail as they wandered by unknown paths in the forest between the Punga-ereere and Okahu, with which they were unacquainted, though intimately known to us. But by aid of the fear instilled by the muskets they discovered our unprotected paths and secret places, so that probably not more than fifty men of Waikato were killed by our people, whilst the guns did their work so effectually that our people were *opehia taewatia* (gathered up as crops of potatoes are in the cultivations). Some of Waikato were not armed with guns, and these occupied themselves in chasing our people in the forest to catch them for slaves—that is, those who were sufficiently fleet of foot to do so. Sometimes one hundred or less were caught together in this manner. Thus it was that the Taranaki people were enslaved—men, women, and children; only those who were sufficiently fleet managed to escape to the gorges and fastnesses of Okahu, from whence, after a time, many fled southward to Oao-iti and Oao-nui, subsequently assembling at Rimu-piko (a very fine old *pa*, situated in a bend of the Wai-au river, within the township of Opunake). From here, not very long after, the majority migrated to Kapiti and Port Nicholson, for the fear of Waikato was great. A few remained at Te Namu, and in after years there defeated Waikato. Some hid themselves in the secret places of the upper waters of the rivers on the slopes of Mount Egmont.

“Waikato were many days hunting our people, and at last finding that no more were to be found retired to the coast, and thence back to their own country, taking with them numberless prisoners. Waikato did not proceed further south on this occasion.”

Te Awa-i-taia, however, who was with the Waikatos, says (A.H.M., Vol. VI., p. 5) after the occurrences at Maru that the remnant of Taranaki fled to O-rangi-tuapeka and Wai-mate *pas* (three miles south-east of the town of Manaia, on the coast), which were taken by Waikato, after which they went in pursuit of Te Hana-tauua of Ngati-Rua-nui (by whose advice Te Karawa had been killed—an incident that gave rise to this expedition of Waikato and Ati-Awa). But they did not succeed

* We shall see one of the results of this slavery at the taking of Puke-rangi-ora in 1831.

in catching him. The party then went on to Wai-totara and fell upon the people there, many of whom were killed, whilst Waikato lost Tupuna, Te-Uru-korari, and Te Ahiahi. This avenged the death of Te Karawa, nephew of Raua-ki-tua, and after that Waikato returned to their homes. This is corroborated by Wi Karewa of Ati-Awa, who says that Waikato took O-rangi-tuapeka on this occasion, and Ngati-Rua-nui lost the chiefs Te Pewa and Te Ahuru. W. Karewa adds, "One of the principal chiefs of Puke-tapu *hapu* named Te Huia was with the Ati-Awa contingent, and when they reached the Ngati-Rua-nui country a battle was fought out in the open, where Te Huia distinguished himself by killing two of the enemy. He was without any arms, but seized and killed these men with his hands and then shouted, '*Ko te tangata o te ringa mau!*'—('The work of the left-handed man.')

Hence was the death of Te Karawa avenged."

Te Kahui continues, "When the Waikato forces reached their homes, the chief women of Taranaki were taken to wife by the chiefs of Waikato. Hence originated two classes of descendants—those born of free women (Waikato) and those born of the slave women of Taranaki—who were thus *tutuas*, or common people—*i.e.*, of no consequence. Some of the men slaves also formed connection with the Waikato women; some even went to Nga-Puhi and there formed connections, both men and women. Here, again, another feature was developed; the enslaved women were given to the Europeans that came there in the whale-ships in exchange for guns, powder, balls, etc. The favours of others again were sold by their masters for pots, tobacco, biscuits, etc.—some of the girls were even given to niggers who were on board the ships at the same price as the others. Hence there sprung up another description of people in New Zealand, the half-caste, making three—*i.e.*, Maoris, half-caste Europeans, and half-caste Negroes.* But it was not the slave women alone who were thus treated, for the free women of Nga-Puhi and Waikato were also sold to the Europeans of the ships in the strong desire to possess the foreigners' goods. Guns, pots, biscuits, tobacco, etc., were the inducements to these connections, so that the tribes might possess weapons to use against others. Thus Hakirau (Love) and Tiki Parete (R. Barrett) of Nga-Motu, who had wives from the Ati-Awa women, supplied that tribe with guns, and from the same source Taranaki

* It must not be supposed from Te Kahui's remarks that the Negro element in the Maori population is great—on the contrary it is only seen very rarely. Perhaps there are more half-caste Maori-Negroes in the Taranaki tribe than elsewhere. But these are nearly all the descendants of old Black Davis, who lived at Oakura in the early fifties of last century (and probably long before). This old fellow, who was as black as soot, used to say that he was the first *white* man! who ever visited Kawhia. As a rule the Maoris have a dislike to Negroes and ridicule their black colour, so different to the light brown colour of their own skins.

Te Kahui, in referring to the offspring of sailors and Maori women, used to call them *utu-pihikete*—paid for with biscuits!

obtained some muskets in later years, prepared flax being the payment. Hence came the musket of Wiremu Kingi Matakatea, which he used in the defence of Te Namu in 1834. Those of Taranaki who migrated to Kapiti and Port Nicholson acted in the same manner, and from the connection of the women with Europeans our people became possessed of guns and half-castes. Hence were they able to cope with Ngati-Kahu-ngunu.

“It was in after years, after Wiremu Kingi Matakatea had defeated Waikato at Te Namu (in 1834), that our people came back after exile at Port Nicholson and Kapiti, and each family again occupied its own lands.”

During this campaign Tama-whero of Ngati-Rua-nui was killed by some of the Ati-Awa and in revenge for the death of Te Karawa; his *rape* also was brought back and placed on the eel wiers—a great insult.

The migration of Ngati-Haumia and nearly all the other *hapus* of Taranaki to Kapiti, or rather to the coasts adjacent to that island, and Port Nicholson, occurred not very long after the return of Waikato to their own country. It was probably in 1827. But a small band of one hundred and twenty warriors and their families determined to remain at their homes, and they took up their residence in Te Namu *pa*, a very strong place about a mile west of Opunake township, on the coast. Wiremu Kingi Matakatea (or Moki) was their chief; and here they remained many years, as we shall see later on. They said they preferred to die on their own lands rather than in a strange country, though Paku-ahi, a chief of Taranaki, was most urgent that they should accompany the migration.

Te Kahui, in his account of the slaves taken back to Waikato, states that some of them went (or were sold) to Nga-Puhi. The “Missionary Record” often refers to these slaves, and I remember myself seeing several in Kaipara in 1859. At this time they were treated kindly, but it was not always so, as the following extract from Rev. Mr. Hamlin’s Journal, whilst at Manga-pouri (on the Waipa), 24th September, 1836, will show—see “Church Missionary Record,” 1836, p. 239. “Tidings of a dreadful murder which was committed within a mile of this place about an hour before I arrived. The murdered man was a slave from Taranaki; he lately met his wife who has been recently brought from that place a captive, but the property of another master. Love to the partner of his bosom and false hopes of being able to escape home inclined them both to take to the bush, where they were found this morning—not by their proper master but by another native, who immediately brought his piece, and in spite of the heart-touching appeal, ‘*Aua au e kohurutia*’—(‘Don’t murder me’) and in the presence of his wife, sister, and father-in-law of the deceased, this ruthless brother of

Cain fired a ball through the body of the unhappy man, who fell dead at his feet."

Since the account of the incidents at Maru printed above, I have had the opportunity of visiting the slopes of Mount Egmont, where that and other places are situated. Plate No. 14 shows the site of the Maru settlement, which was on the rounded hill on the right of the picture; Pakihere is a little further to the right, across the Okahu Gorge, which is here nearly five hundred feet deep, with perpendicular cliffs falling directly from Pakihere. When the Waikatos took both Maru and Pakihere they descended on to them by the spurs of Mount Egmont (indistinctly seen in the picture through the mist). Te Ahu-kawakawa is the name of the swamp lying between Mount Egmont and the Pou-a-kai Ranges, the drainage of which forms Bell's Falls, or Te Rere-a-Tahurangi—named by Tahurangi, who first ascended Mount Egmont, as related in Chapter IX. Puke-kokako lies to the south-west of Pakihere, and the other places mentioned a few pages back in connection with Maru are all in this neighbourhood, and all are at an elevation of some three thousand to four thousand feet above the sea. It is a broken forest-clad country very picturesque, with the noble peak of Mount Egmont forming the back-ground. On some of the flat spurs the Maoris grew both *kumara* and *taro*. The site of Te Kahui Mountain House (from which the photo No. 14 was taken) was cultivated at the time of Maru. The people who first owned and lived in this country were the Ngati-Kaikaka tribe—probably a branch of the Kahui-maunga aboriginal tribes. They were exterminated by the Taranaki tribe.

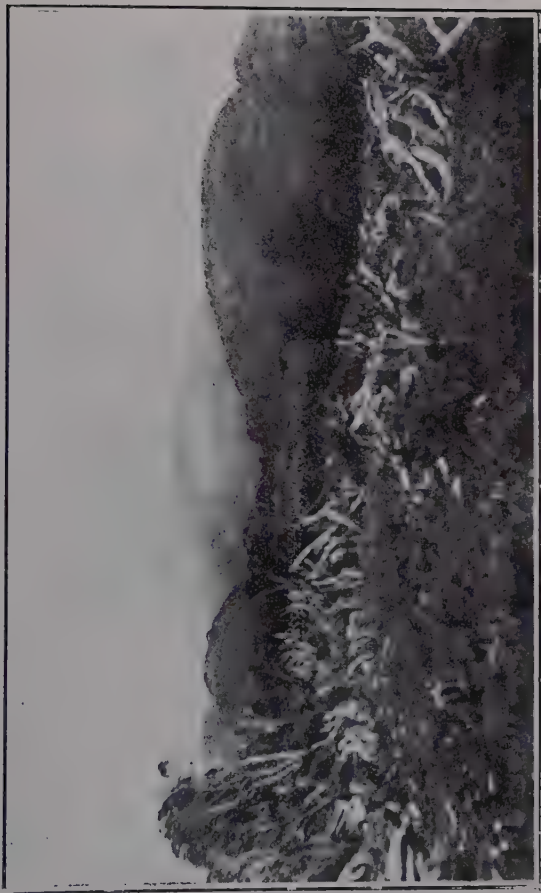


PLATE No. 14.

Maru Hill, on slopes of Mt. Egmont.

CHAPTER XVI.

SOUTH ISLAND RAIDS.

THE accession of a number of the Taranaki tribe who fled from their own territories after the events at Maru, as related in the last chapter, to the ranks of the fighting men under Te Rau-paraha at Kapiti, together with further contingents of Ngati-Rau-kawa from Upper Waikato, which came under their chiefs Taratoa and Te Whata-nui, and settled down at and around Otaki, rendered Te Rau-paraha's scheme for the invasion of the South Island easy of accomplishment. The increasing number of vessels also that began to frequent Kapiti Island for the purpose of trade in flax was the means of adding materially to the store of fire-arms so ardently desired by the Maoris. So far as can be made out, it was in 1828 that Taratoa and many of Ngati-Rau-kawa joined Te Rau-paraha, and either at the end of the same year or very early in 1829 Te Whata-nui followed his tribesmen to Cook's Straits.

It was also about this period—*i.e.*, 1827 or 1828, that the Mua-upoko chief Tohe-riri, who had issued the invitation to Te Rau-paraha to visit him at Horo-whenua, that led to the massacre of the latter's children, met his death at the hands of Ngati-Toa and Ngati-Rau-kawa at Horo-whenua—to which place he had returned from the Ngati-Kahungunu of Wai-rarapa, with which tribe he had taken shelter.

NGATI-TAMA DEFEATED AT TOKA-KAWAU.

? 1827.

These various tribes did not always live in peace with one another in their new homes, though allied in their general policy. It was somewhere between 1826 and 1828 and after the arrival of some of the Ngati-Rau-kawa that this latter tribe fell out with Ngati-Tama, and some fighting ensued at Toka-kawau, Ranga-tira (? on the banks of the Manawatu), where the latter tribe got the worst of it, losing a chief of note named Pehi-taka and an Ati-Awa chief named Te Kaurapa, killed by Te Ao of Ngati-Toa; whilst Ngati-Toa (who were assisting Ngati-Rau-kawa) lost Kahu-pake and Moe-araara. The dispute was about some of the conquered lands, but Te Rau-paraha, after a time, persuaded the disputants to make peace. It was in consequence of this trouble and the fear that such turbulent tribes might in the future disturb the harmony of their alliance, and thus frustrate his further schemes of conquest, that Te Rau-paraha (on the advice of his sister

Wai-tohi—says Mr. Travers) finally arranged that all the Ngati-Raukawa people should settle and own the lands to the north of Kuku-tauaki stream, whilst Ati-Awa should hold those to the south, including Wai-kanae.

Some lady of the Ngati-Tama composed the following *Kai-oraora* against Ngati-Toa on account of the losses of her tribe at Toka-kawau :—

Kaore te hukihuki ki te hoa kua riro,
Ko te waiho atu ki te puta whakakapi,
Ki Toka-kawau—e,
Ka whakapae te riri, e piri mai,
Homai nga are nui ki au mau ai,
Kia whakaturia te komenga i raro nei,
Kia tuwhera te hake hei rui i nga roro,
No Ngati-Rau-kawa, no Ngati-Whakatere,
He rerenga mai hoki—e, te umu a Te Huia,
Kai rawa atu au to tumuaki rahi,
No Paringa-tai, no Te Whawharua,
Na Kahu-nui—e, ka kita aku niho,
Mene rukuruku te kare o 'Rarua,
Ki roto ki taku ipu, e koropupu nei.

TRANSLITERATION.

Alas! the startled heart for my departed friends
Left on the desolate battle-field
At Toka-kawau.
Wrath may turn aside, but still be felt.
Give to me those great ones to keep,
To be used as a feast for those below;
Let the bowl be open to receive the brains
Of Ngati-Rau-kawa, of Ngati-Whakatere,¹
Collect them all into Te Huia's oven.
I will thy sacred heads consume—
O Paringa-tai! O Te Whawharua!²
At Kahu-nui will I gnash my teeth,
And gather the beloved of Ngati-Rarua³
Into my gourd that is boiling there.⁴

NOTES.—1. Ngati-Whakatere, a *hapu* of Ngati-Rau-kawa. 2. A chief of Ngati-Toa. 3. Ngati-Rarua, a *hapu* of Ngati-Toa. 4. Water was boiled in a gourd by placing red-hot stones therein.

TE RAU-PARAHA STARTS FOR THE SOUTH ISLAND.

1828-29.

The captured canoes, taken from the allies at the battle of Whaka-petai or Wai-o-rua, Kapiti, in 1824 (see last chapter), now came into use to further Te Rau-paraha's schemes of conquest, by enabling him and his allies to cross the rough waters of Cook's Straits. "Te Ahu-a-Turanga" was the name of Te Rau-paraha's own canoe used in many of his southern expeditions; it still lies rotting away at Motu-har-

(Porirua Harbour), says Mr. Best. It probably came from Manawa-tu originally, for its name is that of a place on the old track over the southern spurs of the Rua-hine mountains, the origin of which will be found in Chapter VIII. Another famous canoe of this period was "Te Ra-makiri," originally captured from Ngati-Kahu-ngunu of Wai-rarapa by Ngati-Tama, and presented to Te Rau-paraha. "It is,"—says Mr. Best—"exceedingly *tapu*, where it still lies on Mana Island. If anyone breaks off the smallest fragment a dreadful thunderstorm will ensue, and the lightning destroy the offender! 'We know that this is true'—says Mr. Best's informer—'because when the canoe was hauled up at Kapiti many years ago the carved *ihu*, or bow, was broken, and instantly a violent storm arose!'" Such is the old-time belief!

The expedition which started in 1828 for the southern side of Cook's Straits was an extensive one, consisting of Ngati-Toa under Te Rau-paraha, Te Rangi-haeata, Rawiri Puaha, and many another noted warrior of that tribe and their related *hapus* of Ngati-Rarua and Ngati-Koata. With them were some of Ngati-Mutunga (of Ure-nui), Puke-tapu (of Bell Block), Manu-korihi (of Waitara), and Ngati-Tama (of Poutama) under Te Puoho, Ngati-Rau-kawa, under the chiefs of that tribe; Te Whata-nui, head chief, joining the force later on. This formidable force crossed the Straits from Kapiti Island, having, no doubt, made sure that this dangerous transit was safe, by observations at Omere—the point south of Ohariu Bay, as the old song says:—

Ka rou Omere ki waho,
He maunga tutainga aio.

Where bold Omere projects outside,
The mount where calms are watched for.

and which was the invariable custom before crossing. Equally would these superstitious people comply with ancient custom in the case of those who had not crossed the Straits before, and avoid looking at the Brothers rocks, for so surely as they did so would a violent storm arise and swamp the canoes—so says the old tradition.

They made for Te Tao-o-Kupe (Kupe's spear), named on the maps Koamaru, or Jackson's Head (so called after an old whaler of that name who took up his residence under Te Rau-paraha's protection, about the time we are writing of), the eastern entrance to Queen Charlotte Sound. Here a division of the forces took place, for a time, and the Ati-Awa portion proceeded up Queen Charlotte Sound, killing or driving away to their mountain fastnesses the original inhabitants, who were part of the Rangi-tane, Ngati-Apa, and other tribes, about whom we know very little. It was this people that cut off Captain Ferneaux's boats' crew in 1773 at a little bay in Arapaoa Island, which lies to the east side of the Sound. Ati-Awa went on to the head of the Sound to Te Wera-a-Waitohi, which is the name of the place where the town of Picton now stands, and is so named on account of a big

forest fire that occurred many years ago, which was lit by a man named Waitohi, from whose time the place has been open land. Here the Ati-Awa took possession of the country, but I am not quite clear whether any of them settled down there permanently at that time, or whether it was later. In after years they occupied the little island of Moioio as a *pa*, which is situated at the junction of Queen Charlotte Sound and Tory Channel. My notes say, "They did not occupy Wairau Valley at this time because it was under a state of *tapu*, consequent on the death of some of Ngati-Toa there;" which is the only note we have in reference to some raid of Ngati-Toa across the Straits prior to this great expedition.

HIKAPU.

Te Rau-paraha and his division of the fleet, which is said to have carried three hundred and forty warriors mostly armed with muskets, proceeded along the coast to Pelorus* Sound, up the beautiful reaches of which they paddled, destroying the unfortunates who fell into their hands, or enslaving them.

The tribe they met with here was Ngati-kuia—an offshoot of Ngati-Apa (of the north shores of Cook's Straits). They take their name from Wai-nui-a-ono, the wife of Koanga-umu, who are said to have come from Hawaiki in the Kura-haupo canoe.† Their boundaries were restricted to the Pelorus Valley and Rangi-toto Island. They were great fishermen and bird-hunters, but did little cultivation. At the time of Te Rau-paraha's invasion Pakau-wera and Maihi were the principal chiefs of Hikapu, the headquarters of the tribe. This was a semi-fortified village situated at the junction of the Kenepuru Sound with that of Pelorus. Eruera Wirihana Pakau-wera, who died at the age of about seventy-eight in the late "nineties," told me that the news of the Ngati-Toa invasion into their peaceful waters was only received at Hikapu a very short time before the fleet was seen approaching, coming on at a very great pace, as the canoes were urged through the water by many hundreds of muscular arms. Ngati-kuia were distracted, and did not know what to do when the cry of "*Te Iwi hou e! te iwi hou!*"—"The new comers! the new people!") was heard warning all of the approach of the war-party. Ngati-Toa landed and dashed into the village, and commenced slaughtering right and left. The unfortunate inmates had nothing but their native arms to defend themselves with, and were so panic-stricken that they became an easy prey to the invaders. My informant was a child of about eight or ten at the time, and was led away by his father, who managed to make good their escape to

* Named after H.M. Brig "Pelorus," which discovered the Sound in September, 1838. The native name is Te Hoihere.

† Ngati-kuia means the "descendants of the old woman"—i.e., Wai-nui-a-ono.

the forest. "What are those lights and the smoke we see at the village?" asked the child. His father replied, "That is Ngati-Toa burning your ancestors and our houses!" The boy's mother, Kunari, whom he described—as he saw her some time afterwards—as a most beautiful woman, with long chestnut curls hanging down her back—was taken prisoner by Te Whaka-rau with a large number of other women, and shortly afterwards was married to Apitia (senior) of Ngati-Mutunga of Ati-Awa.*

It is said that the slaughter at Hikapu was very great indeed; it was a massacre pure and simple. Outside the mere desire of man-slaying, Te Rau-paraha had the additional motive, so dear to the Maori, of revenging on this people the part they took in the naval attack on Kapiti in 1824, when Whaka-paetai or Wai-o-rua was fought, and also for the assistance that some of them rendered to Ngati-Apa in that same year—for which see *ante*.

NIHO-MANGO.

1829.

After killing or driving to the forests all the inhabitants of Pelorus, the Ngati-Toa fleet returned to the mouth of Pelorus Sound, and whilst here (says Mr. Travers) they were joined by Te Pehi-kupe and further

* E. W. Pakau-wera described to me how in after years, when Apitia lived at Rangi-toto Island, he and his father used to visit Kunari, the boy's mother. This was when peace had been made. The following little bit of family history illustrates some features of Maori life in the early nineteenth century:—"Apitia (senior) was of the Ati-Awa tribe of Waitara; he first married Wehe, a woman of the same Taranaki *hapu* as the well-known chief Kukutai. They had a daughter named Ripeka Te Urunga-pingao and a son Apitia. When Apitia (senior) joined the expedition under Te Rau-paraha he captured and took to wife Kunari, former wife of Pakau-wera of Ngati-kuia. They afterwards lived at Wai-ariki, Te Rimu-rapa (Sinclair's Head, near Wellington), which country fell to Apitia's share at the conquest (1825). It was here that Apitia took Kunari to wife, much to the anger of his first wife Wehe. When Ati-Awa removed to the Chatham Islands in 1835, Apitia went with them, leaving Wehe and her daughter at Wai-ariki, but taking the boy Apitia with him. Shortly after the death of Te Hiko (of Ngati-Toa) at Porirua, Wehe died at Wai-ariki. When Apitia heard of this he returned from the Chatham Islands, and for a time lived with us all at Wai-ariki. Now about Kunari: When Apitia first went to the Chatham's, it was not long after that Kunari had a daughter, who grew up to be a fine woman. When the tribe of the first wife saw her they bewitched her, and she died. A son was also born to Kunari and Apitia, and he was also killed by *makutu* (witchcraft). Immediately afterwards Kunari died through the same means, and had not been buried a month before Apitia himself succumbed to the same influence—all on account of his taking a second wife, which is a serious offence amongst us Maoris" (Te Whetu, 1894). There must have been circumstances in this case which differed from the ordinary—probably Wehe, the *wahine-matua*, or senior wife, was entirely displaced by Kunari; for it was no uncommon thing for a Maori chief to have a dozen wives, one always being the principal one.

reinforcements of Ngati-Toa from Kapiti. It will be remembered that Te Pehi-kupe had, in 1825, invited himself on board a whale-ship bound for England, whither he desired to proceed in order to procure arms for his people, in which he was partially successful. He returned to New Zealand in January, 1829,* and, no doubt, joined Te Rau-paraha directly afterwards, so we have a date for the further proceedings of the *taua*.

With this increased force Te Rau-paraha returned on his tracks for a time without going through the French Pass, and then coasting down the east side of the South Island proceeded to punish a Ngai-Tahu chief named Rere-waka, who, on hearing of the defeat of the allies at the attack on Kapiti in 1824, had said that he would rip up Te Rau-paraha's belly with a *niho-mango*, or shark's tooth. But as Mr. Travers has fully described this expedition (Transactions and Proceedings New Zealand Institute, Vol. 5, p. 72, *et seq*). I will only say that after this attack on Kaikoura itself, Takahaka, a *pa* a little north of Omihi and south of the former place, was also taken.

We left Ati-Awa at the head of Queen Charlotte Sound. My notes are not clear as to whether this tribe joined Te Rau-paraha again, before the latter started on his way down the east coast as described above. But probably they did so, and it was then decided that Ati-Awa should take the west coast of the South Island and conquer that country. However, this may be, the fact is that it was Ati-Awa, assisted by some of Ngati-Rarua (of Ngati-Toa), who made the conquest. The particular *hapus* of Ati-Awa that contributed most largely to this expedition were Ngati-Mutunga, Puke-tapu, Manu-korihi, and Huti-wai, besides Ngati-Tama under Te Puoho. The chief men engaged were Niho, Te Puoho, Takerei, Te Manu-tohe-roa† (of Puke-tapu), Te Keha, Te Koihua; Te Puoho and Te Manu-tohe-roa appear to have taken the leading part. We know few details of this raid. The tribes that were now to fall under the weapons of Ati-Awa and Ngati-Rarua had not as yet experienced the full effects of warfare as conducted by the savage northern tribes, nor were they in possession of firearms. These tribes were the Ngati-Apa-ki-te-ra-to (or Ngati-Apa-of-the-sunset) and the few remaining people of the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri, living amongst them as slaves or vassals. I extract from Judge Mackay's work‡ a

* Te Pehi, says Judge Mackay, came back direct to New Zealand from England, and then made a voyage to Sydney. It was in 1829 he returned from the latter place.

† Afterwards killed at the battle of Te Kuiti-tanga, 1839.

‡ A compendium of official documents relating to native affairs in the South Island, by A. Mackay, Native Commissioner, Government Printer, Wellington, 1873.

brief account of these people, for the book is scarce, though often quoted—not always with due acknowledgments.

NGATI-TU-MATA-KOKIRI.

After the first settlement of the crew of the canoe "Taki-tumu" in the Middle Island, "a branch of the Ngati-Hau from Whanganui, under a chief named Tauira-pareko, were the next to cross over to the Middle Island; a section of whom called Ngati-Wairangi, with their chief Tawhiri-kakahu, settled at Arahura (near Hokitika), on the West Coast. . . . Next in point of time was a tribe named Pohea, also from Whanganui; they settled in the neighbourhood of Whakatu, or Nelson, where they built a large *pa*, called Matangi-awhea. The tribe Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri were the next to arrive and spread themselves over the Whakapuaka, Nelson, Waimea, Motueka, Roto-iti, Roto-roa, and Massacre Bay districts and the West Coast as far south as the river Karamea. They are said to be descended from a chief named Tu-mata-kokiri,* and to have come originally from Taupo to Whanganui, in the North Island, where, after dwelling for a while, they crossed over to the Middle Island and settled at Arapaoa (Queen Charlotte Sound), from whence, in course of time, as their descendants increased, they spread themselves over to the westward, occupying the shores of Blind (or Tasman) and Massacre Bays; and it is supposed, according to native accounts, that it was a few of this tribe who attacked Tasman's boats' crew on the 18th December, 1642, on his visit to that part, which he describes in his voyages as having named Massacre Bay in consequence of this unhappy affair; in corroboration of which the locality pointed out by the natives as having been the scene of the first unfortunate meeting between the European and native races, is situated in close proximity to the Tata Islands, in what is now known as Golden Bay. . . ."

After describing the irruption of the Ngai-Tahu tribe into the Middle (or South Island) about the year 1575-1600, and their collision with the Ngati-Mamoe tribe, Judge Mackay continues, "About this time a division of the Ngai-Tahu proceeded to Ara-hura, on the West Coast, for the purpose of getting the greenstone, or *pou-numu*. . . . In those days the West Coast of the Middle Island was inhabited by a tribe called Ngati-Wairangi. . . . A large body of Ngai-Tahu travelled across the Island to the West Coast, where they speedily overcame the Ngati-Wairangi, most of whom were killed, with the exception of a few women and children, who were spared by and embodied in the Ngai-Tahu. The Ngai-Tahu had not long been in possession of the West Coast before they were attacked by the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri (of

* It is said by the Whanganui people that Te Ahuru led the first migration to the South Island, followed not long after by Tu-mata-kokiri.

Tasman Bay, etc.), but, as the attacking party was not large, no advantage was gained by them, and they withdrew to Mohua (native name of the northern part of the Middle Island). The Ngai-Tahu and Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri seem to have had occasional fights about the right of catching the *weka*, *kiwi*, and *kakapo* in the Upper Grey and Buller districts, but nothing of any moment took place during the first century of the occupation of the Middle Island by Ngai-Tahu. . . . The pursuit of bird-hunting and eel-catching at the sources of the Maruia (a branch of the Buller), the Clarence (Wai-au-toa) and Wai-au-uwha" (which is the proper name—not Waiau-ua, as the maps have it) "led to frequent skirmishes between the East and West Coast Ngai-Tahu and Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri. This latter tribe appears to have held possession of the country to the north of the Buller river" (and extending to Cape Farewell) "for over a century after the first settlement of Ngai-Tahu in the Middle Island, when their territory was invaded by a division of the Ngati-Apa tribe from the neighbourhood of Whanganui, in the North Island, who partially conquered them, but after a time withdrew again to their own district."

"The Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri, with a view to avenge themselves on this tribe, determined to cross the Straits and attack them at Kapiti, where they then resided, but in attempting to do so large numbers were drowned, and the remainder who landed were so few in number that they fell easy victims to their enemies."

"No further attempt at conquest appears to have been made by the Ngati-Apa until about sixty years ago (*i.e.*, 1810), when, taking advantage of a war then raging between Ngai-Tahu and Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri, they crossed over to Massacre Bay and again attacked the latter tribe. The Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri, about this time, unfortunately killed a Ngai-Tahu chief named Pakeke at Maruia; it was determined by both Ngati-Tuahu-riri (of Ngai-Tahu) and the Poutini (West Coast) Ngai-Tahu to take revenge. Two fighting parties started unknown to one another almost simultaneously—one from Kai-apohia (on the East Coast), and one from Arahura (on the West Coast); the former headed by Te Whare-kino, an influential chief, travelled by the Hurunui river to Lake Sumner; thence by the sources of the most northerly branches of the Wai-au-uwha and the pass of Kai-tangata to Maruia, following this river down to its junction with the Kawa-tiri, or Buller. They then proceeded, after crossing the Buller, in a northerly direction by the valley of the Matiri—a tributary of the Buller—to the sources of the river Karamea, down which they proceeded to the West Coast, where they remained some days eel-fishing."

"The party of Poutini Ngai-Tahu, headed by their principal chief Tuhuru (father of the late Tarapuhi-Te-Kaukihi of Mawhera"—and, I may add, a descendant of Mango-huruhuru, the magician who

brought the sands to the Taranaki coast, see Chapter VIII*), "travelled by the West Coast and reached Karamea at the time that Whare-kino and his people were there engaged eel-fishing. Seeing tracks of men on the sands at Karamea they supposed that it was some of the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri, of whom they were in quest. Tuhuru and another native cautiously approached the Ngati-Tuāhu-riri camp. Tuhuru's companion being in advance came suddenly on Te Whare-kino (who was engaged baiting an eel-basket), and, taking one another for enemies, a scuffle ensued, when the Poutini man was thrown down and would have been killed by Te Whare-kino but for the timely arrival of Tuhuru; he at once, without ceremony, made a stroke at Te Whare-kino with his spear and ran him through the arm, at the same time giving him a push forward on his face. But before he could rise he was siezed by the hair by Tuhuru, who intended giving him a finishing stroke with his club, when he suddenly recognised him as Te Whare-kino and a cousin of his own. The Ngati-Tuāhu-riri, attracted by the quarrel, had by this time assembled round their leader; whereupon the mistake was explained and they at once agreed to join forces and proceed to West Whanganui, led by Tuhuru. There they attacked the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri and killed large numbers of them, but after a time retired to Arahura, from whence Te Whare-kino and his people returned to Kaiapohia, on the East Coast."

"The Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri were shortly after again attacked by the Ngati-Apa, from the North Island, and driven on to the West Coast; and the last of them, consisting of Te Pau and Te Kokihi, two of the principal chiefs, and a few followers, were killed by Tuhuru and his people on the Paparoa range, dividing the valleys of the Grey and Buller. The Ngati-Apa had now entire possession of the country formerly occupied by the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri; but events were taking place in the North Island amongst the tribes there, which

* Tuhuru had only lately become a resident of the West Coast. The following is translated from a document written in Maori by an old man named Hakopa (of Hokitika) in 1898 for Mr. G. J. Roberts (now Chief Surveyor of Westland). He says, "Tuhuru came originally from Kaekae-nui (? Nguengae-nui), near Kaiapohia north of Christchurch. He did not come to make war, but rather to hunt birds to make a return for a feast given to his people. These birds were *kakapo*, *kiwi*, and *weka*, besides eels, which his men carried back over the mountains from Poutini to Kaiapohia, and from there were distributed even as far south as Tau-mutu (south end of Lake Ellesmere) and to Arowhenua (near Timaru). After this, Tuhuru came back to Poutini (the West Coast) with his people and dwelt at O-Hine-taketake, in the Mawhera, or Grey Valley. Here he lived with some of the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri tribe until a quarrel arose, in consequence of a woman named Kakore having been taken forcibly as a wife by Tainui, Tuhuru's son, against the wishes of her tribe, and then troubles commenced between the two parties, ending, as Judge Mackay relates, in the text above.

eventually led to their being dispossessed of their newly-acquired territory. . . ."

Practically, the above is all that is known of the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri tribe, as they were destroyed root and branch, always excepting; some of the women who were taken prisoners by their conquerors, and it is through some of them that the following old song was learnt by some of the Ngati-kuia and Ati-Awa people. It is very ancient:—

E tomo, E Hine ! ki Mirumiru-te-po,
 Ko Te Tatau-o-te-po,
 Ko te whare tena o Rua-kumea
 O Rua-toia, O Miru ra e !
 No Tu-horo-punga, no Kai-ponu-kino
 Nana koe i maka i te kopae o te whare
 Ki te ata ki a Te Kamu.
 Ka huri mai hoki to wairua-ora,
 E Hine ! ki a au.
 Nau mai, E te tau ! ki roto nei taua,
 Titiro iho ai taku tonga-rerewa
 He motoi taniwha no roto i te kopa
 Na to whaea, na to tuakana, na Hine-korangi,
 He awe toroa no runga i a Karewa,
 Nana i unu ake, tukua mai kia rere,
 E 'Tama ma e ! tauwhirotia mai
 Te waka o te makau
 Me tuku kia whano nga mata kurae,
 Ki Rua-taniwha e—
 Kia wawe ia te ihu
 Ki Otama-i-ea
 Tahuri atu ki tua ki One-tahua—e—
 Te whenua ra e, kihai au i kite,
 E takahia mai ra, e Tu-ki-Hawaiki.

TRANSLITERATION.

Thou hast entered, O Lady ! Mirumiru-te-po,
 By the door of Hades, place of departed spirits.
 There is the house of Rua-kumea—
 (Where spirits are dragged to their doom)
 Of Rua-toia, spirit-holder—of Miru,¹ goddess of Hades.
 There also is the house of Tu-horo-punga of Kai-ponu-kino
 (The powerful gods of sorcery and spells).
 'Twas Miru¹ that cast thee into the corner,
 To the shade of the firmly-grasped;
 From thence did turn thy living-spirit,
 O lady ! unto me.
 Welcome back, my love ! to this our home,
 And let me gaze on my treasure found—
 My precious one from the treasure-bag;
 Once thy mother's, thy sister's, even Hine-korangi's.²
 Thou art like the albatross plume, from Karewa,³
 Plucked from its wing and hither brought.

O my friends ! welcome with beckoning hand
 The canoe that bears my loved one,
 And let it pass on by the many capes
 That lead to Te Rua-taniwha ;⁴
 Quickly shall the bow reach the strand
 At famed Otama-i-ea.⁵
 Then turn away to One-tahua,⁶
 To that land I have never seen,
 Where Tu-ki-Hawaiki⁷ goes to and fro.

NOTES.—This is the lament of Riri-koko, who, on the death of his daughter, followed her to the Reinga, or place of departed spirits, and brought her back. She was the sister of Hine-korangi. But see the *Journal Polynesian Society*, Vol. VII., p. 59, and Vol. V., p. 118, for the story on which this lament is founded. 1. Miru, goddess of Hades. 2. Hine-korangi, sister of the departed. 3. An island off Kawhia, home of the albatross. 4. Rua-taniwha, a point a little to the north of West Whanganui. 5. Te Tahuna i Otama-i-ea is the boulder bank that forms Nelson harbour. 6. One-tahua is Cape Farewell Spit. 7. Tu-ki-Hawaiki was formerly the principal chief of Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri of Tasman Bay.

In Judge Mackay's account it is inferred that the whole of Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri were exterminated. No doubt, this was so, as a tribe, but many of the women were saved, as also some of the men—all of whom subsequently became slaves to Ati-Awa and Ngati-Rarua.

CAPTAIN D'URVILLE'S VISIT TO TASMAN BAY.

1827.

It will be of interest to say a few words just here about the visit of the celebrated French Captain, Dumont D'Urville, in the corvette "Astrolabe," which occurred early in 1827, and which, so far as is known, was the first visit of an European ship to that bay since Tasman in 1642. It was on the 18th December of that year that the Dutch navigator anchored off Separation Point, which divides Tasman from Massacre (or Golden) Bay, and, as is well known, one of his boats was attacked by the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri tribe and four of the sailors killed. Hence Tasman gave the name Murderers' (or Massacre) Bay to the place. It would have been of interest to have learnt the Maori account of this affair, but, unfortunately, the tribe that committed the murders was practically exterminated by the Ngati-Apa tribe about the beginning of the nineteenth century, so we have nothing from native accounts but the bald fact of two ships having visited the bay, where they were attacked by the Maoris and some of the crew killed. This information comes down through some of the women, or slaves, spared when Ngati-Apa conquered the country.

And as to Captain Cook's three visits to Queen Charlotte Sound in 1770, 1773, and 1777, for the same reason we have no native accounts. The people with whom Cook had intercourse, probably Ngai-Tara or the Rangitane tribes, having also been exterminated. One would have thought that such a notable event as Cook's visit would have been retained in the traditions of the Ngati-kuia tribe who inhabited

the Pelorus Sound, but my old friend Pakau-wera, from whom I obtained much information as to his tribe, absolutely knew nothing of Cook's visit.

Captain D'Urville left Sydney on the 19th December, 1826, and after a very stormy passage made the West Coast, near the mouth of the Grey River, on the 10th January, 1827. From there he coasted along to the north, round Cape Farewell, and anchored off Separation Point, not far from Tasman's anchorage, on the 14th January. It was then that he ascertained that Tasman's Bay was of far greater size than Cook had supposed. On the 16th January D'Urville was off Mackay's Bluff, a few miles north of Nelson, and here he first communicated with the natives, who visited the ship in two canoes from a settlement pointed out as being situated near the north end of Nelson Haven (which D'Urville never saw) and called, according to D'Urville, Skoi-te-hai (which may be, perhaps, Kohi-te-whai, or some such name).* D'Urville thought he recognised amongst these people two distinct classes—the fine, stalwart tattooed men who were evidently chiefs, and some untattooed men who appeared to be slaves, or of the lower orders. There is no doubt these people were members of the Ngati-Apa-ki-te-ra-to tribe, who conquered Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri, and probably the lower class were slaves or vassals of the latter tribe held in bondage after their conquest by the first named. The same day the *Astrolabe* anchored under the lee of Adèle Island, on the west shore of the bay, in a fine, sheltered place, which received the name of *Astrolabe Bay*. They remained here several days, the natives from the head of the bay coming to visit them and remaining camped on the shore whilst the ship was there. D'Urville remarks that these people were unacquainted with iron, and put no value on it; but much preferred clothing in exchange for their mats, etc., etc. He says they had potatoes, but possibly he means the *kumara*, or sweet potato. They complained of the effects of fire-arms in the hands of some neighbours

* This place name cannot now be identified; the subsequent conquest of the country by Ngati-Toa and Te Ati-Awa having destroyed those people who might have known. But Judge Mackay tells me there were to be seen, when Mr. James Mackay first occupied the country to the north of the Nelson Haven in 1845, a very large number of *papa-whare*, or house foundations, all along the Boulder Bank, and that at the head of this place "there are numerous *papa-whare* to be seen in close contiguity and of all shapes, as also along the bank for several miles, along the margin of the flax swamp which formerly existed there. . . . The site of this swamp was previously occupied by a forest of mixed timber, which was ultimately destroyed by fire, and a growth of flax took its place. The site of the mixed forest was originally covered with a growth of *kahikatoa* (manuka), the remains of which were discovered when digging ditches to drain the swamp laying on a clay surface at a depth of six feet below the level of the swamp. There must have been a great subsidence there, for the present surface of the swamp is very little above sea level."

who came from the north-west, evidently alluding to Ngati-Toa and Te Ati-Awa, with whom these people had come in contact in 1824 at the attack on Kapiti Island already described.

D'Urville, after four days at Astrolabe Bay, sailed for the French Pass, which he discovered, and after a very great many difficulties managed to take the Corvette through, with the loss of part of her false keel, for the terrible current of the Pass carried the ship on to the rocks. It was a very narrow escape. D'Urville's description of these exciting times is of very great interest.

His officers requested him to allow his name to be applied to the island that lies to the north of the French Pass. The Captain's remarks thereon are worthy of being quoted, as showing that he had the true spirit of the discoverer, and did not wish to deprive the first explorers of their right to name their discoveries. The Maoris, of course, were the first to visit the island. He says, "The name of D'Urville Island, therefore, will remain until the epoch when we shall learn the name it has already received from its inhabitants." The Maori name of the island is Rangitoto, but D'Urville's name still takes precedence, and it is as well in this case that it should remain, for the name of the distinguished French navigator is not signalized in any other part of New Zealand, although he did so much to make its coasts known.

They saw several villages about the Pass and Admiralty Bay, and even some of the natives in their canoes at a distance, but held no communication with them. These were some of the Ngati-kuia people of Pelorus Sound, who at that time owned Admiralty Bay and Rangitoto Island.

After this long digression we return to the

CONQUEST OF TASMAN BAY.

1828.

We left the Ati-Awa and Ngati-Rarua expedition at Rangitoto (or D'Urville's) Island bound for the conquest of the Ngati-Apa of Tasman Bay. The fleet passed along down the east coast of the bay, attacking all the people they found as they went along. At a place named Te Ana-toto—a point on the mainland just to the west of the French Pass, they first fell in with some of the local people, and here succeeded in killing Te Nge and captured his wife Whakaata. Passing down the coast they killed or drove inland all the people at Croisilles Harbour (so D'Urville, its discoverer, spells it—the native name is Whangarae) and then on to Whakapuaka, where they fell on the people there, killing a great many, amongst them the wife of Tekateka, a Ngati-Apa chief, who, himself, climbed on to the top of a house and shouted out, whilst the massacre was going on, "*Ko au tenei! Ko Tekateka!*"—"This is I, Tekateka!") This man being a brother-in-law of

Tu-te-porangi (one of the Ngati-kuia or Ngati-Apa prisoners of Ngati-Toa and now friendly with them) was therefore saved by Te Manu-tohe-roa of Ati-Awa. Tu-te-porangi's grandson is Hoani Makareka of Blenheim. The expedition then went on to Nelson, Motueka, Takaka, and as far as Te Tai-tapu, or Massacre Bay, killing or enslaving the unfortunate Ngati-Apa. Having conquered all this extensive stretch of country, embracing the whole of Tasman Bay, with a coast line of about one hundred and twenty miles, many of the conquerors settled down there in the choicest spots.

But the manslaying already accomplished did not suffice for these bloodthirsty warriors, now habituated to a diet of man's flesh and with the lust of killing on them. Apparently, the offence given by Ngati-Apa in joining in the attack on Kapiti Island in 1824 was not to be expiated by the conquest of their country and the enslaving of their people. The strong desire also to obtain greenstone was another reason why a portion of the conquerors under Niho (or Nga-Niho) of Ngati-Tama (or perhaps Ngati-Rarua—both tribes closely related), and Otu of Ati-Awa, decided to raid the West Coast and attack the Poutini Ngai-Tahu, in whose country the greenstone was to be found. The course which this expedition took along the West Coast is one of the most difficult to travel in all New Zealand. The mountain ranges are nowhere very far from the coast, down to which the spurs come in precipitous slopes, all clothed with very dense forests, and intersected by numerous rivers and streams running in precipitous gorges. A writer in the "Karere Maori," No. 16, 1849, says, "Along this coast the Ngati-Tama chief Nga-Niho led his people in the year 1827 (? 1828) against the Ngai-Tahu people of the greenstone country, whom he defeated in every battle. The assailants had all of them guns, and although, amidst the almost inaccessible rocks and fastnesses of their coast, the Ngai-Tahu might have defied any enemy similarly armed to themselves, yet the fear of the fire-arms brought against them, together with their deadly effect, caused them in every instance to give way. The localities of the fights are yet pointed out, and scorched stones, which formed the *umus*, or ovens, are still discernable. It is very doubtful if these valleys—between West Whanganui and Karamea—were ever at any time peopled. The Ngai-Tahu and Ngati-Tu-matakokiri tribes that formerly inhabited the Middle Island occupied chiefly the Northern and Eastern Coasts and only visited the Western Coast in quest of greenstone and sealskins. A section of these latter people retreated to the rocky fastnesses of the Karamea country upon the invasion of the Ngati-Tama and Kawhia (Ngati-Rarua) tribes. Thence, after a succession of fights in which their strength was broken, they dispersed, going yet further to the south-westwards, where, at Arahura river and towards Milford Sound (Waka-tipu, *sic.*) a community of about seventy persons, half of whom are of the Kawhia

tribe, intermarried with the Ngai-Tahu, are all that remain of them, and the only inhabitants of a coast country of four hundred and seventy-five miles in length. . . . The incessant wars which seem to have engaged the Ngai-Tahu, Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri, and Rangitane tribes, even before the northern tribes crossed the Straits, prevented the population of the Middle Island increasing to such an extent as these valleys could be peopled."

Judge Mackay says (*loc cit*, p. 46), "Leaving Te Puoho and Te Koihua in charge of the conquered country (Massacre Bay, etc.), Niho and Takerei, with their followers, proceeded down the West Coast as far as the river Hokitika, conquering all the country before them. Amongst the prisoners taken was Tuhuru, the chief of the Poutini Ngai-Tahu, who, on peace being restored between the contending parties, was ransomed by his people for a greenstone *mere* called "Kai-kanohi," which is now (1872) in the possession of the descendants of Matenga Te Au-pouri. After this, Tuhuru and some of his people, as an act of submission, went to visit Te Rau-paraha and the Ngati-Toa at Rangitoto; and Takerei and Niho, with some of the Ngati-Toa, settled at Mawhera (Greymouth) on the West Coast." My notes add to Judge Mackay's the fact that Niho married Tuhuru's daughter—a very fine, handsome woman.

From Mr. G. J. Roberts' notes, already referred to, I abstract the following account of the capture of Tuhuru, as obtained by him from Te Kere, an old Maori of about seventy-eight years of age:—"When Te Niho started for the West Coast (from Patu-rau*) Te Rau-paraha told him to spare Tuhuru (Hakopa says, 'but Pu-aniwaniwa was to be killed.') At West Whanganui he killed Te Weka, but no others, and at Mawhera killed five or six others. From there he came on to Hokitika. At this time Tuhuru was at Kokatahi—a few miles inland of Hokitika. The party reached the latter place in the evening, and Tukai (who appears to have been the guide) persuaded the war-party to wait till morning as Tuhuru and the men would be away fishing. Tukai wished to save Tuhuru if possible. Arrived at the *pa* at Kokatahi in the morning all the men were away and only women at home (and some of Tuhuru's sons, says Hakopa, who escaped into the forest, whilst the women were captured). When Tuhuru approached the *pa* he saw the war-party, and fled to the Kokatahi river, and after crossing stood there with his long spear (*huata*). Niho followed him and called out, telling Tuhuru he did not want to fight. After this, Niho crossed the river and rubbed noses with Tuhuru, and then both

*Judge Mackay tells me "Patu-rau is the name of a stream a short distance south from the entrance of West Whanganui. Niho (Te Whare-pakaru), Takerei, and some of the Ngati-Tama used to live there when the Massacre Bay district was first conquered."

returned to the *pa*. Hakopa here says, '*Ka poia ki te atua kia kitea e Tuhuru te ara mona ki te ora.*'—('Tuhuru made offerings to his god to disclose to him the course he should take to save himself,') and that he explained to Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri what was to be done." Hakopa's ill-written, badly composed narrative leaves the matter there and goes off on to a different subject. Mr. Roberts continues, "Tainui, his sister, and Tarapuhi (Tuhuru's children) were in the bush, but the latter came back (? before Niho left). Next morning Niho and his party left, and went on southwards as far as Okarito. Kahu, for whom Niho was seeking, was up the big Whanganui river at Lake Matahi, or Ianthe, engaged in fishing. He and his party came out to the coast to Whataroa, and next day Niho arrived at Okarito. Kahu was standing by a *whata*, or store-house, whilst Niho's people were taking food from it. Kahu tried to drag towards him with his foot a tomahawk lying on the ground; but Niho's men saw him, so killed him, also his wife and daughters.

"Te Niho then marched back to Arahura, and from there back to Patu-rau, taking Tuhuru and the other local Maoris with him, and here they stayed five years, after which Te Niho brought them back to their own homes. On this occasion Te Niho went right down the coast as far as Tahu-tahi (Cascades), from whence he returned home. There was no one killed in this expedition, but Kahuwai, one of his party, was drowned in the Wai-a-toto river in trying to save another man. His body was burned, and the ashes buried at the head of the lagoon where 'Castle Douglass' now stands."

Te Manu-tohe-roa, of the Puke-tapu *hapu* of Ati-Awa, was one of the principal chiefs engaged in these raids, and, as my informant says, it was he and his people took the Waimea and Motueka valleys, and there captured Te Kotuku, the principal chief of those parts.

It will be remembered that at the battle of Wai-o-rua, or Whaka-paetai, in which these Ngati-Apa people had assisted those of the North Island in attempting to destroy Ngati-Toa at Kapiti in 1824, a boy named Tawhi—son of Te Putu of Ngati-Toa—was the only prisoner taken by the allies. He was carried away by Ngati-Apa to their homes in Tasman Bay. When Ngati-Toa were engaged in their Pelorus Sound raid in 1828 they took prisoner at Rangitoto Island a chief named Tu-te-porangi (belonging, I think, to Ngati-kuia), who was conveyed to Kapiti. Some time after this, and evidently after the conquest of Tasman Bay, this man requested that he might be allowed to return to his tribe, urging as a reason therefor that he could secure the return to his parents of the boy Tawhi. Ngati-Koata, a branch of Ngati-Toa, to which tribe the boy belonged, agreed to the proposal, and they fitted out an expedition from (I believe) Rangitoto, where some of them were living in order to accomplish this. They proceeded by canoe through the French Pass (Te Au-miti, native name)

and along the coasts of the bay to Motueka, but on their arrival there they found the place deserted. The expedition then turned back to Waimea, where they found Te Hapuku, chief of that branch of Ngati-Apa. With this chief Ngati-Koata made a formal peace, says my informant, which seems to show that some at least of Ngati-Apa still retained their independence. But the child was not to be found. Whilst there they saw the head-piece of a very celebrated canoe named "Te Awatea," which had been taken there for safety, whilst the other parts had been left at Motueka. This canoe was presented to Ngati-Koata by Te Hapuku, and was brought away to Kapiti on their return. The boy Tawhi never returned to his people, but died a natural death at Pelorus.

After this, a second expedition was made by Ngati-Koata, which went to Rangitoto Island, Kaiaua (at Croiselles), Whaka-puaka, and Waimea, and at these places made peace with Ngati-kuia and Ngati-Apa. This expedition went especially to make peace with the remains of the above tribes, and it occurred shortly before the death of Te Pehi-kupe, or in 1829.

Although peace was made between the conquering northern tribes and the remnant of Ngati-kuia and Ngati-Apa, they did not always live up to it, as the following incident will show, as told to Mr. Best and myself by old Te Paki of Ngati-Koata, who had taken part in Te Rau-paraha's raids and had settled at Otara-wao, on the west side of Rangitoto Island with his tribe soon after the conquest:—On one occasion two chiefs of Ngati-kuia, named Ruru and Tu-maunga, came on a visit to Ngati-Koata. As they landed from their canoe, Te Paki, having some grievance against Ruru, made up his mind to kill him, but on attempting to do so was prevented by Tu-maunga. During the evening Te Paki got some of his friends together in his house to persuade them to help him carry out his design. In the house was a woman named Rangi-kukupa, who, pretending to be asleep, overheard the scheme prepared for Ruru's death. She took an opportunity to go outside, and warned Ruru, who thus escaped the death intended for him.

OMIHI.

DEATH OF TE PEHI-KUPE.

1829.

After Te Rau-paraha's return from the Niho-mango expedition, as alluded to a few pages back, and whilst residing at his island home at Kapiti, an incident occurred which again took him to the South Island.

In Chapter XV. the capture of the Ngati-Ira chieftainess Tamai-rangi and her family by Ati-Awa, and the subsequent protection afforded to them by Te Rangi-haeata of Ngati-Toa, has been described. Tamai-rangi's son, Te Kekerengu, who was an adult man at that

period, was a fine, handsome fellow and somewhat of a "gay Lothario." Whilst living at Kapiti an intrigue took place between this man and the wife of Te Rangi-haeata (or Moka, which was his other name), the news of which, as is invariably the case amongst Maoris, soon became public property. Tamai-rangi and Te Kekerengu, fearing the result of this might be their destruction, procured a canoe and escaped from Kapiti one night, with all their relations. Crossing the stormy Straits they proceeded to Aro-paoa Island, in Queen Charlotte Sound, and stayed there for some time; but still fearing the wrath of Ngati-Toa they departed from there and went on south to somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kai-koura, and joined their distant relatives of the Ngai-Tahu tribe.

When the news of this intrigue reached Te Rau-paraha's ears, he was much incensed, but saw in the incident an excuse for a further expedition against Ngai-Tahu, who, by thus giving shelter to Te Kekerengu became according to Maori custom, equally guilty. There is no doubt he was also actuated by the lust of conquest and the desire of obtaining more greenstone, of which the people of the large *pa* at Kai-apohia, near the present town of Kaiapoi, were known to possess large quantities.

With these objects in view, the Ngati-Toa chief collected his tribe and started towards the end of 1829, for the South Island. After calling in at Wairau (Marlborough), they coasted on to Kai-koura, where it was found the people had fled, many of them assembling at Otama-a-kura, near Omihi—a river some fifteen miles south of the former place. Here Ngai-Tahu suffered a very severe defeat—the remnants scattering to the mountains and many fleeing to Kai-apohia. Te Pehi-kupe, Pokai-tara, and many other chiefs, with a considerable force of Ngati-Toa, leaving Te Rau-paraha at Omihi, followed after the fugitives to Kai-apohia, where Te Pehi-kupe and some others, after deceiving the people of the *pa* as to their intentions, were allowed to enter the fortifications and barter for greenstone. Residing with Ngai-Tahu at that time was a Nga-Puhi (or rather Te Roroa of Northern Wairoa) chief named Hakitara, who suspected Ngati-Toa's intentions, and warned his hosts to take advantage of the presence of their enemies in the *pa* to kill them.

According to Rangi-pito—a well-informed Ati-Awa chief—Hakitara had been on a whaling cruise, and landed somewhere on Banks Peninsula, probably much disgusted with the rough life at sea, and made his way to Kai-apohia. When he saw the arrival of Ngati-Toa he said to Ngai-Tahu, "This is the tribe of Te Rau-paraha who was the cause of Te Waero's death at Motu-tawa, Roto-kakahi Lake, Rotorua district."* Hakitara had thus some idea of avenging the

* See "Wars between the Northern and Southern Tribes," p. 90.

death of his own people as well as warning Ngai-Tahu. The Ngati-Toa had been induced to enter the *pa* by some one holding out a mere of greenstone—*hei whakapataritari*, or bait, says Rangi-pito.

This advice was acted on, and Te Pehi-kupe, Pokai-tara, Kiko-tiwha, and Te Ara-tangata of Ngati-Toa were slain. As Pehi was struggling with those who were trying to kill him, he said, "*Kaua e hoatu ki te atua, me homai ki te Kaka-kura.*"—"Do not give it to the god, but to the Kaka-kura"; from which last word Wi Parata of Waikanae, who died in 1905, took his name Kaka-kura. What the real meaning of Pehi's speech is, I cannot say.

The subsequent attack on Kai-apohia *pa* and its failure need not be repeated here, for the Rev. J. W. Stack has fully described it in his "*Kai-apohia.*" Thus died Te Pehi-kupe, a chief of high rank in the Ngati-Toa tribe, who, with the determination to procure fire-arms for his tribe had submitted himself to the rigorous discipline of a whale-ship in 1826, and made a voyage to England and subsequently to Port Jackson for that purpose. His death occurred in the latter end of 1829.

The end of Te Kekerengu, whose *liaison* with Te Rangi-haeata's wife had been made the pretence for this expedition, was equally disastrous to himself. He fled from Otama-a-kura *pa* at Omihi with his relatives directly he saw Te Rau-paraha's fleet outside, and made his way to a place on the coast twenty-two miles from Cape Campbell. How long he and his relatives remained here is not known, and the cause of his death is somewhat obscure. The strong probability is, however, that Ngai-Tahu, looking on him as the immediate cause of their disastrous defeat at Omihi, determined to be avenged on him, and for this purpose followed the fugitives and killed them all at the river now known as Kekerengu, which is so named after Te Kekerengu.

Before fleeing from Otama-a-kura, but after Te Kekerengu had recognised the oncoming fleet of canoes as belonging to Ngati-Toa, he exclaimed, "*E kore e ki nga tauari a Hine-i-awhea!*"—"The thwarts of Hine-i-awhea will not be filled!"—meaning, I presume, that he would not wait to allow of his body being piled up in one of the canoes, so he made off.

It may well be imagined the wrath and sorrow of Te Rau-paraha at the death of his relative, Te Pehi-kupe; and that he would take measures to fully avenge it was only in keeping with his character. How he accomplished this is related in considerable detail by Mr. W. T. L. Travers (*Transactions New Zealand Institute*, Vol. V.) and by the Rev. J. W. Stack in "*Kai-apohia.*" I will therefore content myself here by adding a few notes of matters not apparently known to those gentlemen.

TAMA-I-HARA-NUI'S DEATH.

1830.

This occurred in November or December, 1830, for Mr. Montefiore, a merchant of Sydney, was trading for flax at Kapiti in December of that year when the "Elizabeth" (Captain Stewart) arrived there from Port Cooper having on board Te Rau-paraha and his party, returning with their prisoner Tama-i-hara-nui, whom they had captured by treachery at Port Cooper. He was handed over to Te Pehi-kupe's relatives and widows, who put him to death in a most barbarous manner.

In 1894 I got the following brief account of Tama-i-hara-nui's death from Mr. Jackson, son of an old whaler and trader, who was at Kapiti when the "Elizabeth" arrived. He was at that time—December, 1830—with a shore-whaling party stationed at Evans' Island—just off the south-east end of Kapiti Island. These people used to visit the "Elizabeth" as she laid at anchor there with the prisoner on board. Tama-i-hara-nui used to complain bitterly against his captors because they had suspended him to a beam on board the vessel by a hook under his chin. The shore-whalers used their best endeavours with Te Rau-paraha to allow them to take the prisoner back to Banks Peninsula, but to no avail. Tama-i-hara-nui offered these men the whole of the Peninsula if they could succeed in saving his life. The prisoner was finally taken ashore to Otaki and tied up to a tree, where the chief persons of Ngati-Toa cut open the unfortunate man's body at the naval, when each taking a part of his entrails, pulled them out, and thus killed him. His wife, Te Whe, was hung up by the heels, her jugular vein cut, and then the widows of Te Pehi drank the blood until she died. The infamous Captain Stewart (who had allowed the ship's coppers to be used for cooking some of the prisoners) never got the cargo of flax which had been promised him, for the whalers were all so incensed against him that they formed a plan to take the ship and detain her and her captain until a man-o-war could be communicated with. Stewart, getting to know of this, cleared out one night and sailed for Sydney. His fate is believed to be known; he sailed from Sydney for England *via* Cape Horn, but was never heard of afterwards.

This story was confirmed to me by another old whaler named Workman, who came to New Zealand in the brig "William Stowell" (Captain Davidson) in 1835, and heard the story then current amongst the whalers at Kapiti.

KAI-APOHIA PA.

1831.

Not satisfied with the vengeance already taken for Te Pehi-kupe's death, in December, 1831, Te Rau-paraha proceeded south again and laid siege to Kai-apohia—full details of which are given in Mr. Stack's

work already quoted. In both his account and that of Mr. Travers, Te Rau-paraha's allies of Ati-Awa are practically ignored, but they really formed quite a large contingent, under the following well-known chiefs:—

Te Puoho, of Ngati-Tama	Te Tupe-o-tu
Huri-whenua, of Ngati-Rahiri	Manu-kino
Rere-tawhangawhanga, of Manu-korihi	Kapuia-whariki
Te Manu-tohe-roa, of Puke-tapu	Wharepo
Ngatata (father of Pomare)	Mohi-Ngawaina
Te Poki	Riwai-Taupata
Te Arahu	Raharuhi-Te-Taniwha, of Ngati-Tama
Te Awe	Te Waka-Tiwha (brother of Pomare)
Takaratahi	
Te Hau-te-oro	

They were all absent on this expedition when Puke-rangi-ora fell in December, 1831.

There was in those days a somewhat noted *Matakite*, or seer, named Kuku-rarangi; the following is a *mata*, or vision, composed by him, used as a *ngeri*, or war-dance, by Ngati-Toa as they left their homes for Kai-apohia:—

Aha te hau e pa mai nei?	O te waka o Maui ki raro, ha!
He uru, he para-awa!	Tuituia ha!
Ko nga hau e tu	He rere a ha!
Ki te rae i Omere ra ra!	Taku pokai tara—
Hi! Ha!	Pokai tarapunga
Ka kite koe, E 'Raha!	E tu ki te muriwai
I te ahi papakura ki Kai-apohia,	O Waipara rara,
Ma te ihu waka,	Hi! Ha!
Ma te kakau hoe	Ka whakapae te riri ki tua.
A, ka taupoki te riu	

TRANSLITERATION.

What is the wind that hither blows?
 'Tis the west, the breeze from the sea!
 The wind that beats
 On the point at Omere!¹
Hi! Ha!
 Wouldst thou behold, O 'Raha,²
 The lurid flame at Kai-apohia;
 Then let the bows of the canoes
 Be onward forced by strength of paddle.
 Thus shall overturned be
 The canoe of Maui, *ha!*
 Sew on the top-sides, *ha!*
 Fleet be their course, *ha!*

And then my little flock of terns—
 My flight of black-capped gulls,
 Shall stand at the river's mouth,
 At Waipara³ stream shall land,
Hi ! Ha !
 And angry war be seen beyond.

NOTES.—1. Omere, the bold point just south of Ohariu, the look-out place before crossing the Straits. 2. 'Raha, short for Te Rau-paraha. 3. Waipara, the river a few miles north of the Ashley, where the party was to land prior to the attack on Kai-apohia.

The Ngati-kuia people of Pelorus Sound, who had suffered so severely at the hands of Te Rau-paraha when Hikapu fell (see *ante*), were forced by Ngati-Toa to join in this expedition. They went by the old Maori trail over Manga-te-wai, or Tophouse Pass, and so through the mountains to join Ngati-Toa at Kai-apohia. They returned the same way.

TE KORERO MO KATAORE:

HE MOKAI NA TANGAROA-MIHI.

NA TAKAANUI TARAKAWA I TUHITUHI.

I tu teteahi parekura nui whakaharahara noa atu mo tenei mokai; i tino mate rawa atu nga uri o Tu-a-Rotorua i nga uri o Tama-te-kapua; na ana uri ano i whakaea te matenga o nga uri o Tu-a-Rotorua. Na! no reira i peneitia ake ai, kaore i penei era atu ngarara te mamaetia e tona ariki. Na! ka whakamaramatia ake nei:

E noho tahi ana nga uri o Tu-a-Rotorua me nga uri o Tama-te-kapua i Rotorua. Ko te nohoanga o Tangaroa-mihi kei te taha hau-waho o Moe-rangi maunga—Ko Titoko-rangi te pa, e tu nei ano taua pa. Ko te nohoanga o Ngati-Tama-ihu-toroa, kei Te Pukeroa i Ohine-mutu (Taihoa ka whakapapatia kia marama ai). Te mahi a nga uri o Tama-ihu-toroa he haere ki tua ki Tarawera i etehi wa. Ko te mokai nei a Tangaroa-mihi, a Kataore, kei te Uaha he hiwi i te taha marangai o Moe-rangi, e tata ana ki te roto o Tiki-tapu, koia hoki te take i waiho ai e Tangaroa-mihi i reira, kia haere iho ai te ngarara ki te roto ki te inu wai māna. A, he wa ke noa mai ka haere ano hoki a Ngati-Tama-ihu-toroa ki Tarawera; a ka hangai ake ki te rua o te nanakia ra ka rongo ake te tira nei, e haruru ana. Ka mea te iwi nei, “E ko Kataore! Ka mate tatou!” Ka mea atu etehi “Kaore! he mokai nei hoki!” Ka mea atu a Rere-toi, “E! me patu!” Ka mea mai a Pitaka, “Ae! Erangi ka mohiotia tonutia na tatou i patu.” Ka mea te toa, “Hei aha i waiho ai te nanakia?” Ka whakaae a Puraho-kura, a Maiki, kia patua.

Heoi, katahi ka hapainga te karakia e Pitaka, he whakaturamoe (he rotu), a kaore tonu i hiko noa ki te rua o nga panepane, kua nganga iho te ngarara. A, kua whakahau a Rere-toi, “Kokiri!” Tangi ana te ko ki nga karu o te ngarara nei. A, ta te rotu pai hoki, tē oreore te hiku; werowero kau ana i ta ratou pakeke. Kei te whakatauki nei “He tohora, he hewa.” A takoto ana te ngarara i tawaia ai o tatou tupuna. Haere ana i te manu-kawhaki. A, ka hoki atu ki Rotorua te ope nei.

A, ka haere mai a Te Mouna, he taina no Tangaroa-mihi, ki te titiro i te mokai a raua ko te tuakana. Rokohanga mai, e titi ana te konga karu. Ka hoki atu a Te Mouna ka korero atu, “E! ko Kataore kua mate; he mea ata patu marire e te tangata.” Heoi, ka

tangi a Tangaroa-mihi, ka uhi, ka whakatauki, "E kowai ra toku hei tua i te rangi kia mataratara." Ka mea atu te tama, "Waiho ra, kia ata mohiotia."

A, i te ata ka tae a Te Mouna ki Te Pukeroa ki te patai. Ki tonu mia a Rere-toi, "E hara i te hanga to toa ki te haere mai ki te ata uiui! Naku tonu i patu te atua noa iho, te whakamataku i te ara." A, ka hoki mamae mai a Te Mouna; ka tino mohio te ngakau, he tino whakaiti tera i a raua ko tona tuakana me te iwi katoa. Tae atu ki nga pa, ka huihui te iwi, ka patai a Tangaroa-mihi, ka korero atu te taina, "E hara i te korero pai, i korero riri tonu mai ki a au a Rere-toi, a Puraho-kura, me era atu rangatira o Ngati-Tama." A, ka mea a Tangaroa-mihi, "Ae! E hara mo te mokai ra te patu. Erangi mōku, a, me tau-whanga tonu tatou i mua i te ara; kia kitea iho, ka kokiri ai ki te ara tonu." A, ka whakaae katoa nga rangatira— a Tu-hokaia, a Amaru-te-ra.

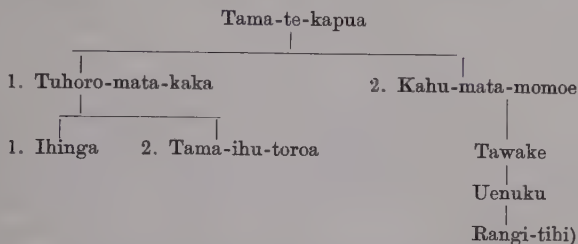
A, he rangi ke ka kitea iho te tira o Ngati-Tama e haere ana mai, ka kokiri ki mua o te ara, nga uri o Tu-a-Rotorua. Ka kokiritia tonutia atu, ka pa te patu, a ka whati a Ngati-Tama. Katahi ka whakahokia ano e Ngati-Tama; ka hinga a Ngati-Tu-a-Rotorua, ka mate a Te Mouna, a Taura. Ao ake te ra ka riri ano; ka hinga ko Tangaroa-mihi.

Ka tukua te karere ki nga mokopuna a Rangi-tihi kei Tarawera e noho ana, ki a Ihu, ki a Rongo-mai, me era atu rangatira o reira. Katahi te ope ka haere mai ki nga pa o Tongaroa-mihi; a, i te ata ka riri ano, ka hinga ano, tau rawa, ka pa te reo o Ihu, "Rongo-mai E! Apiti tu!" Mate rawa ko Ngati-Tama, ka whati, ka whakahokia e Rere-toi, ko Rere-toi ano; mate rawa i a Ihu, ka mate a Ngati-Tama. Huaina iho tena parekura ko "Tarawa-pungapunga." Ko te parekura i hinga ra a Te Mouna, ko "Te Marua."

Ao ake te ra ka riri ano; a te ki a nga kaumatua, he iwi toa a Ngati-Tama-ihu-toroa. He apiti! he apiti! Ka karanga a Rongo-mai, "E Ihu e! waiho i te tukipoto." A, ka mohio a Ihu, me taupoki te riri ki nga toa anake. Kua rere a Ihu ki waho o te apiti, kua kitea rawatia e ia a Puraho-kura, he whakaoma, he whakaoma. Na Puraho-kura ano te tao tuatahi ki a Ihu; patua tonutia, hinga rawa iho ko Puraho-kura. Ka whati a Ngati-Tama; ka maro te whati, ka hinga i te parekura, a Ngati-Tama. Ko "Te Wai-whiti-inanga" tenei parekura.

Ka rua nga parekura o Ngati-Tama, ka maro te whati ki Te Pukeroa. E whati ana, ka karanga a Ihu, "Kāti! Tukua atu ena

tuakana o tatou hei morehu.” Ka whakaae a Rongo-mai. (Ko te tikanga o te kupu a Ihu, i whakatuakana ra, e penei ana :—



A, ka tae nga morehu ki Te Pukeroa, ka ki atu, “ Me heke tatou.” A, ka whakaaetia e Rongo-haua, e Ue-rata, e Rongo-hape, e Ue-marama. Ka heke ratou i te wehi o te patu a nga mokopuna a Rangi-tihi-whakahirahira, koia i heke ai a Ngati-Tama. Ko teteahi wahanga o Ngati-Tu-a-Rotorua i te Kopu, i Kawaha; a Maru-kuku, ratou ko nga tama, ko Hare, ko Rangi-korako, Te Amai.

A ka maro te haere a te heke nei, noho rawa atu i Kakepuku, i Pirongia; a ka kitea e era iwi, me era rangatira o Tai-nui; a ka noho ki a Whakaterere, ki a Takihiku, a ka tukua mai he mahinga aruhe-motuhanga ma ratou. Kaore i taka te tau kua whakato i ano te iwi nei, kua tango i nga keringa-aruhe a te tangata whenua. Katahi ka huihui te tangata whenua, ka mea te tino rangatira—a Rere-ahu—me te tama, me Te Ihi-nga-rangi, me pana tenei iwi kino. Kaore hoki e kaha te katoa ki ta raua. A, na te tama a Whakaterere, na Poutu, i whakaatu te kupu ki te heke ra, “ Ko koutou; kua oti te kupu a nga rangatira, me haere koutou, me heke.” A, ka mea ano a Poutu, “ Ki te rongo atu au kua tau mai koutou ki tehea wahi, ka tae atu ano maua ko taku aroha kia kite i a koutou.” Ka whakamihi nga rangatira o te heke ra ki a Poutu, ki a raua tahi ko Nga-kohua potiki a Takihiku; ka whakaae mai te heke nei. A, ka mea a Ue-rata a Te Rangi-houtu, me heke ratou ki Taranaki; ka piri te tama, a Ue-marama, ki ta raua kupu. Ka mea atu a Rongo-haua, “ E! ki Taupo, ki te oko ngoho-ngoho, pangare.”

A, katahi ka pakaru te heke nei, kore rawa i kotahi te kupu. A ko Ue-rata me Ue-marama i heke ki Taranaki. Ko Rongo-haua me Rongo-hape me to raua tuahine, me Roroi-hape, i heke ki Taupo, noho rawa atu enei i te taha tuaraki nei o Taupo, i Wai-haha.

Te taenga atu, ka kitea e te tangata o reira, ka pa te karanga, “ E he heke!” Katahi ka korerotia atu ki te tino rangatira o Taupo, ki a Rua-wehea, “ E! he heke kei a matou e noho ana.” Ko Te Rangi-tamau tera e korero atu ra. A ka koa mai te rangatira ra, ka mea mai, “ Ka pai ra, hei panganga reo atu, ‘ E! tahuna he kai!’ ki atu ki te heke ra tena a au, a Rua-wehea, te haere atu na kia kite i a ratou.” Ka mea mai tera, “ Ae! Haere ake kia kite i ou tangata hei mahi kai mau.”

A, i tetehi rangi ka haere atu a Rua-weha i runga i te waka, ka tae atu ki waho atu o Wai-haha, ka pa te karanga, "E puta ki waho, ko te tino rangitira tenei o tenei moana, o Taupo." A ka puta te heke ki te pohiri ki te karanga. A, e karanga haere ana mai te rangatira ra, "Ae! Ae! kia nui ta koutou karanga mai i a au. Ko au hoki tenei, a, ko au to koutou rangatira, a maku koutou e whakatau." Ka mutu ka hui atu ki te whare i a Rongo-haua, katahi ka mea a Rua-wehea, "Ki te rongo ake i taku pukaea—na! he whakahau kai; kia tere mai te kai." Kaore i ki te waha o te heke ra. A, ka hoki atu te rangatira nei, ki tona nei kainga.

A, i te timatanga tonutanga o te heke nei te noho nei i taua wahi, kua hoe mai taua rangatira i te moana, kua tangi mai te pukaea—ko te tangi tenei: "Pororo, pororo ma, tahutahu te kai!" Ka korerotia atu ki a Rongo-haua, raua ko Rongo-hape. Ka ketekete te tokorua nei ka mea "E e i!" Ka whakatauki a Rongo-haua, "E! nawai tena, me kanga noa iho nga uri o te tangata nana i peke te 'karihi-potae;' tangata nana i whakatupu te pakanga ki a Ue-nuku?" Na! enei kupu mo ona tupuna, mo Tama-te-kapua; na Tama-te-kapua i whakatupu te pakanga ki a Ue-nuku. Tera te pekenga o Tama' i runga i te kupenga, ka mate a Rakauri, ka ora ko ia. Na! mo te wahi ki a Ue-nuku mo te kainga i te poporo-whakamarumarua o Ue-nuku. Kati! Pena tonu te whakahau kai mai a Rua-wehea ki te iwi nei, a, ka tae mai a Poutu me Nga-kohua me Tama-te-hura, ka noho i te kainga o te heke nei. A, ka rongo, ka korerotia atu tera whakahau kai. Ka ketekete a Ngati-Raukawa; ka mea a Poutu, "E! ko te patu kei ko atu!" Ka mea a Rongo-haua, "Ae! ina, e tatari ake ana." Ka mea atu a Poutu, "A waiho tahi i te auripo."

A, ka roa, ka puta mai ano i waho i te moana te waha o te pukaea, "Pororo, pororo ma, teretere tahutahu te kai!" Ka mea atu a Rongo-haua ki a Rongo-hape, "Ko au e karanga atu," ka whakaae mai tera. Katahi ka tu atu nga wahine ki te whakatau—karanga atu, karanga tonu mai, "Kei te tao te kai, E poko ma?" Ka mea atu a Roroi-hape, "Haere mai! Haere mai te ariki, E! me korero? kua tao noa atu. Haere mai ki te whare kia whakaterea atu nga kai o to kainga—te pangare, te ngohongoho." Ka tomo ki te whare; tau kau ki raro o te pihanga, ka pa mai te reo o Rongo-haua, "Ko wai ra kei te pou whatitoka?" Ka mea atu a Rongo-hape, "Kowai ra kei te Rongo-mai-whiti, ko au! ko au! ko Rongo-haua, A! A! ita! ita!"* Ka pa te patu ki a Rua-wehea; mate katoa.

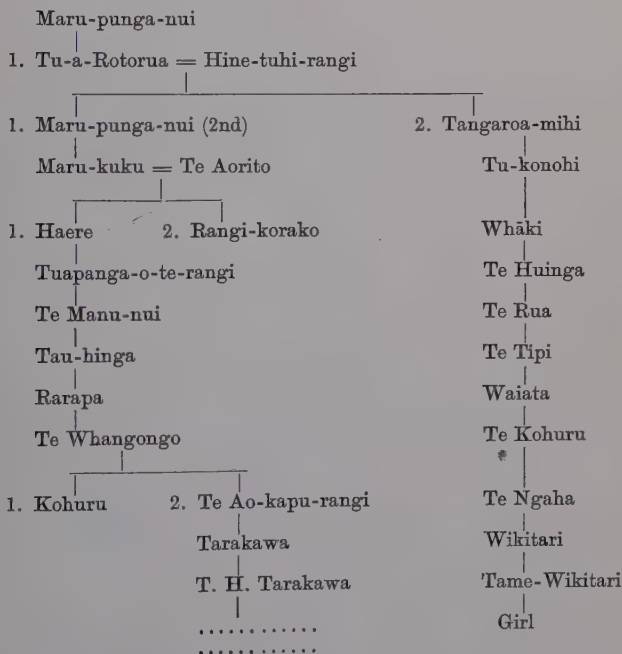
A ka rongo nga tahatapa o Taupo, ka haere mai ki te whawhai, a ka mate etehi o Ngati-Tama, ko te nuinga e haere ana i te manukawhaki, noho rawa atu i Motu-whanake (i runga o Te Niho-o-te-kiore,

* No konei tenei ingoa a Ngati-Rangi-iti, i te kupu a Rongo-hape.

Waikato awa) kei runga o Ati-a-muri. Ka noho i reira te iwi nei, a, i Pohatu-roa.

Na! e karangatia nei ano taua tupuna nei, a Tama-ihu-toroa, kei teteahi wahanga hapu ano i roto i a Tu-hou-rangi, kaore i ngaro rawa. A me nga uri o Tu-a-Rotorua kaore i ngaro rawa; kei te komokomo tahi ki nga uri o Te Aitanga-a-Kahu-mata-momoe. Engari, tino riro rawa a Te Arawa katoa i nga uri a Kahu-mata-momoe, ara, i te hekenga iho ano i a Tama-te-kapua, ki a Kahu ki a Tawake, ka moe i a Tu-pare-whaitaita uri o Hatu-patu, nana nei a Rau-mati i patu mo te weranga o "Te Arawa."

Ka toru rawa nga ngarara i tenei takiwa: Ko Kataore, ko Hotu-puku, ko Peke-haua. Na Pitaka i patu, e ai te rongo ake. Tena to taonga, mei ora tonu, kaore he momo-tangata e tupu. Kati ano kia patupatu atu. Koia nei te whakapapa o nga tangata i te wa i patua ai a Kataore, tae iho ki naiane, ara:—



(Tera atu te roanga o nga korero mo nga tuahu, me nga ingoa katoa o nga mea i roto i te pa tawhito a te Maori.)

THE STORY OF KATAORE:

THE PET *TANIWHA* OF TANGAROA-MIHI.

TRANSLATED BY S. PERCY SMITH FROM TARAKAWA'S ACCOUNT.

[The story of the slaying of Kataore has been published already in Sir George Grey's "*Nga Mahinga a nga tupuna*," London, 1854, with more detail than is given in Tarakawa's narrative above. But it ends with the slaying of the monster by stating that great troubles arose amongst the tribes of Rotorua in consequence, without describing what these troubles were. Tarakawa's narrative supplies this deficiency, and tells us what became of the defeated tribes. This is important as supporting the statement made in "*The History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast*," page 112 (in the book form), where it is stated that the Ngati-Tama tribe of North Taranaki descend from Tama-ihu-toroa, great-grandson of Tama-te-kapua (captain of "*Te Arawa*" canoe). Tarakawa's narrative shows why these people left Rotorua. The local history of the Taranaki Ngati-Tama, however, claims that the name of the tribe is derived from Tama-hou-moa, a descendant of those who came to New Zealand in *circa*, 1350, in the "*Toko-maru*" canoe (see page, *loc. cit.*) It appears tolerably clear, however, that this Rotorua migration amalgamated with the Taranaki Ngati-Tama, and the combination of the two peoples has been known by that name down to the present day. The narrative should have a special interest for the inhabitants of Rotorua, as describing some of the local history of places that are now passed over constantly by thousands of tourists each year. The descendants of Tu-a-Rotorua were, there is little doubt, some of the *tangata-whenua*, or original tribes of New Zealand. They claim to descend from Tawhaki, who flourished in Fiji and Samoa ages before the migration of about 1350. As for the *taniwha*, or *ngarara*, slain by Ngati-Tama, we unbelieving *Pakehas* place no credence in the many similar stories relating to these great saurians, for such they were according to the Maori description. The fact probably is that this is another illustration of the localisation of events which occurred in reality long before the ancestors of the Maori reached New Zealand. They are probably stories of the killing of crocodiles in Indonesia, or India, now localised. According to the genealogical tables herein, the events would have occurred about the end of the sixteenth century.]

"A VERY great battle was fought on account of this pet; and the descendants of Tu-a-Rotorua suffered severe defeat at the hands of the descendants of Tama-te-kapua, and it was his descendants also who avenged the descendants of Tu-a-Rotorua. Hence it is, that no similar *ngarara* (lizard, monster) has ever given cause by its death, to so much affliction on the part of its master. It will now be shown why this is so:

The descendants of Tama-te-kapua and those of Tu-a-Rotorua dwelt together at Rotorua. Tangaroa-mihi (of the latter) lived outside of Moerangi Mountain (just to the south of Tikitapu Lake), and his *pas* were named Titoko-rangi, Puhi-nui, and Kahotea, which are to be

seen at this day. Ngati-Tama-ihu-toroa (descendant of the ancestor of that name, who was a great-grandson of Tama-te-kapua) dwelt at Te Pukeroa—the hill in the park just to the south of Ohinemutu Village. (Presently, the descent will be shown.) The descendants of Tama-ihu-toroa were in the habit of occasionally visiting Tarawera Lake. The pet monster of Tangaroa-mihi, named Kataore, lived at Te Uaha—a ridge on the east side of Moerangi Mountain, near the Tikitapu Lake—and the reason that Tangaroa-mihi left the monster there was so that it might descend to the lake to drink. On a certain occasion the Ngati-Tama-ihu-toroa were proceeding to Lake Tarawera, and on arrival opposite to the cave of the monster, the company heard a rumbling noise proceeding therefrom. The people said, ‘Ah! It is Kataore! We shall be killed!’ Some said, ‘Not so! It is a tame monster!’ Rere-toi said, ‘Let us kill it!’ Pitaka (a noted *taniwha* slayer and priest) replied, ‘Yes! But it will be known directly that we had killed it.’ Then said the warrior, ‘Why should this monster be left to live?’ And then Puraho-kura, Maihi, and the others consented that it should be killed.

Then Pitaka proceeded to uplift his powerful *karakias*, the *whakatura-moe*, and others (to cause the monster to become powerless), and he had not reached the second heading of his incantation when the roar of the monster was heard. Now Rere-toi commanded an assault to be made, and directly the noise of the weapons was heard on the eyes of the *taniwha*. Aha! the efficacy of the incantation! Not a squirm of his tail; they had nothing to do but to spear their whale. It was just like the saying of old, ‘A whale! A big fish!’ And so they laid the monster that destroyed our ancestors—he fell by the deep-laid scheme, by the ambush. And then the party returned to Rotorua.

Not long afterwards Te Mounga, the younger brother of Tangaroa-mihi, went to see how the pet belonging to them was getting on. On arrival he found the spears sticking in its eyes. He returned and reported, ‘A! Kataore is dead! He has been deliberately killed by someone.’ Then Tangaroa-mihi bewailed the loss of his pet, covering himself with his mat, saying, ‘*E, kowai ra toku hei tua i te rangi kia mataratarā*’—(the meaning, but not the translation, of which is, ‘Who shall avenge his death?’) Said the younger brother, ‘Wait a while; let us be quite sure who did it.’ Now when morning came, Te Mounga proceeded to Te Pukeroa (the *pa* of Ngati-Tama, near Ohine-mutu) to make enquiries. Rere-toi at once said, ‘Indeed, you have great courage to come here and ask! I killed the useless god who was the dread on that road!’

So Te Mounga returned in trouble, for he felt in his breast that this action was intended to debase his brother, his tribe, and himself. When he reached the *pas*, the people all gathered together, and then Tangaroa-mihi enquired the result, to which Te Mounga replied, ‘It

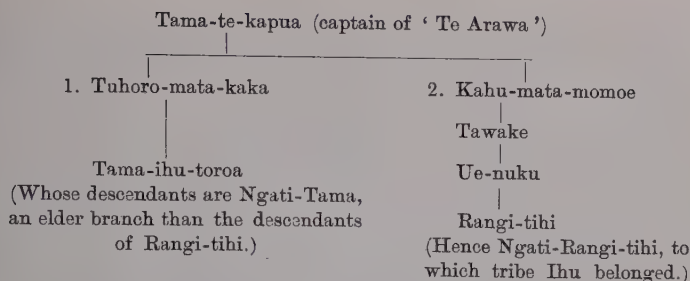
was not pleasant what I heard; Rere-toi, Puraho-kura, and the other chiefs of Ngati-Tama replied to me with anger.' Tangaroa-mihi said, 'Yes! This killing was not for the pet alone, but was intended for me. Let us await some of their parties on the road, and when we see them we will make a rush at them on the track.' To this all the chiefs consented, including Tu-hokaia and Amaru-te-ra.

Now on a certain day not long after, a party of Ngati-Tama was seen coming along, and the children of Tu-a-Rotorua proceeded to lie in wait on the path. They then attacked the party of Ngati-Tama, who, taken by surprise, fled. (This took place just in the hollow before the present road enters the Tikitapu bush.) But Ngati-Tama soon rallied and attacked the others, when Ngati-Tu-a-Rotorua were beaten, losing Te Mouna, Taura, and others. This fight was called 'Te Marua.' On the following morning they fought again, and this time Tangaroa-mihi (the owner of the monster) fell.

The defeated people of Tangaroa-mihi now sent messengers to the grandsons of Rangi-tihi (fifth in descent from Tama-te-kapua) at Tarawera Lake, where they dwelt under the chiefs Ihu, Rongomai, and others, to come to their assistance. A company came in response under those chiefs to the *pas* of Tangaroa-mihi's people, and next morning the opposing parties joined in battle, when Ngati-Tama were defeated, and fled; whilst the voice of Ihu was heard crying out, 'Rongomai, E! Close on to them!' Ngati-Tama were badly beaten. But Rere-toi brought them back to the fight, when he himself fell, killed by Ihu, and then Ngati-Tama were altogether beaten. This fight was called 'Tarawa-pungapunga,' and occurred near the junction of the Wairoa and Te Ngae roads, on the site of the quarry reserve.

At daylight the fighting was continued, for the old men say that Ngati-Tama-ihu-roa were a very brave people. The parties closed; Rongo-mai (of Tarawera) shouted out, 'O Ihu! Let us make a sudden rush!' Ihu thought it best to attempt to overwhelm the braves alone; so he went forth from where they were closed in battle, where he saw Puraho-kura, and then there was a rush! Puraho-kura was the first to lunge at the other with his spear, and then he fell to the prowess of Ihu. Ngati-Tama now fled, for they were beaten. This battle is called 'Te wai-whiti-inanga,' and took place along the beach about a fourth of a mile to the south-east of the present Postmaster's Bath, and close to the place now called Sodom and Gomorrah.

Ngati-Tama had now lost two battles, so retreated straight on to their *pa* at Te Pukeroa. Whilst they were fleeing, Ihu called out to his people, 'Enough! leave those elder brothers of ours as a remnant.' (The meaning of Ihu's words will be seen from the following table:—



When the remnant of Ngati-Tama got back to Te Pukeroa, they consulted, and came to the conclusion that they had better migrate. This proposal was consented to by Rongo-haua, Ue-rata, Rongo-hape, and Ue-marama. The migration decided on this course because of the fear of the weapons of the grandchildren of Rangī-tihī-whakahirahira of Lake Tarawera. There was one division of Ngati-Tu-a-Rotorua living at that time at Te Kopua, near Kawaha (a mile north of Ohine-mutu—the bluff there). These were Maru-kupu and his sons Hare, Rangī-korako, and Te Amai (who would also be opposed to Ngati-Tama in the case of further fighting).

So the migration went straight away, and finally reached Kakepuku—near Pirongia township, on the Waipa—where they were found by the people and chiefs of 'Tainui.' Here they dwelt with Whakatere and Takihiku, the sons of Rau-kawa (from whom Ngati-Rau-kawa take their name), and they had given to them some fern-root grounds of the best kind (*motuhanga*).

But a year had not passed before this migratory people became bumptious, and helped themselves to the fern-root grounds of the local people. Then the local people assembled, and the high-chief Rere-ahu and his son Ihi-nga-rangi decided that this evil people, the migrants, must be expelled. None of the tribe were able to gainsay this decision. So Whakatere's son Poutu went to the people and said, 'Ye all! It has been decided by the chiefs that you all must go; you must migrate from here.' He added, 'Whenever I hear that you have settled in some place, I and my affection for you will visit you.' Then the migration thanked Poutu and Nga-Kohua—son of Takihiku—and consented to the decree. Then Ue-rata, Ue-marama, and Te Rangī-houtu urged that they should all migrate to Taranaki. But Rongo-haua was of a different mind—said he, 'O! To Taupo, to the bowls of *ngohongoho* and *pangare*' (two small fish of Lake Taupo, the *kokopu*).

And so now the migration broke up, for they had different thoughts; Ue-rata and Ue-marama migrated (with their people) to Taranaki, whilst Rongo-haua and Rongo-hape and their sister (and people) moved off to Taupo, and settled down on the north-west side of the lake at Wai-haha.

When they arrived there, they were met by the people of those parts, who exclaimed, 'O! Here is a migration!' Then they sent off a messenger to the head chief of Taupo, to Rua-wehea, saying, 'O! A migration is staying with us!' Rangi-tamaua was he who gave this message. The head-chief was pleased at the news and said, 'It is well; they will be somebody to say to, 'O! Prepare some food!' 'Tell them, presently I—Rua-wehea—will go over and see them.' The other replied, 'Yes! Come over and see your people who are to be your workmen.'

On a certain day Rua-wehea proceeded by canoe, and when he had arrived outside of Wai-haha, he called out, 'Come outside of the house; here is the head chief of Taupo!' So the migrants came forth to welcome the chief, who replied to their invitation to come ashore, 'Yes! yes, cease not to welcome me. This is I, I am your chief, and I intend to give you my commands.' After this they all gathered into a house belonging to Rongo-haua, when Rua-wehea said, 'When you hear my *pukaea* (trumpet), take note, it is a command for food, and make haste about preparing it.' The migrants said not a word. Then the chief returned to his own home.

During the early settlement of the migrants in those parts, the head-chief used to come in his canoe, and as he approached used to sound his trumpet—this was what it said, '*Pororo, pororo ma, tahutahu te kai!*'—('Pororo, pororo,* prepare food.') Then Rongo-haua and Rongo-hape of the migrants was told of this, and they felt exceedingly annoyed, saying, '*E! E! i*, what an idea to curse the descendants of those who jumped over the fishing-net, and those who engendered the war with Ue-nuku.' Now these words referred to his ancestor Tama-te-kapua, captain of 'Te Arawa,' who originated the quarrel with Ue-nuku, and who jumped over the fishing-net when Rakauri was killed, but he escaped, and stole the fruit of the sheltering *poporo* tree" of Ue-nuku. (Events that occurred in Hawaiki before the great migration of the Maoris to New Zealand about 1350. The "sheltering *poporo*" is, no doubt, a breadfruit tree, as is plainly mentioned in some of the old songs, where the Rarotongan name of *kuru* for that fruit replaces that of *poporo*.)

"But enough. Thus were the commands of Rua-wehea frequently issued to the migrants until, later, came Poutu, Nga-Kohua, and Tama-te-hura (of Ngati-Rau-kawa, see *ante*) on a visit to them in their new homes, as the former had promised. They heard then, after it was told them, the nature of the commands to prepare food. Ngati-Rau-kawa were much annoyed; and Poutu said, 'A! Killing will be the next thing!' Rongo-haua replied, 'Yes! It is so; we are just

* The exact meaning of *pororo* I don't know, but it is an offensive epithet.

waiting (for the opportunity).' Poutu then said, 'Leave it to the swirling current (of war).'

After a long time there was heard out on the lake the mouth of the trumpet again, '*Pororo ! Pororo ma ! teretere tahutahu te kai !*' as before. So Rongo-haua said to Rongo-hape, 'I will call out the welcome,' to which the other consented. Then the women stood forth and welcomed the coming guest, and as they called, came back the answer, 'Are you cooking the food, O heads?'* Roroi-hape (sister of the two chiefs) replied, 'Welcome! Welcome our lord! A! Can it be told? It is cooked already. Come to the house that the food of your village may quickly be brought—the fishes of Taupo.' So the head-chief entered the house, and as soon as he had sat down under the window (the place of honour) the voice of Rongo-haua was heard, 'Who is at the door post?' Rongo-hape replied, 'Who is at the Rongo-mai-whiti? 'Tis I! 'Tis I!' Then shouted Rongo-haua, '*A! A! ita! ita!*'† and the weapon crashed into Rua-wehea's head and killed him.

When the people living round the shores of Lake Taupo heard of this they came to fight with the migrants, and many of Ngati-Tama were killed, and the remainder fled from the district and settled at Motu-whanake—a place not far from Te Niho-o-te-kiore, on the Waikato river (a Constabulary post in the seventies of last century), and eventually also at Pohaturua, the precipitous rocky pinnacle near Te Ati-a-muri, where the old Rotorua-Taupo road crosses the Waikato.

Now there is still remaining to this day one division of the 'Tu-hou-rangi tribe called after Tama-i-hu-roa; the tribe is not entirely lost. And also the descendants of 'Tu-a-Rotorua, neither are they lost entirely, for they inter-married with Te Aitanga-a-Kahu-mata-momoe. But the bulk of Te Arawa are now absorbed in the descendants of the same Kahu-mata-momoe, descendant of 'Tama-te-kapua, through Kahu' and Tawake, who married Tu-pare-whaitaita, a descendant of Hatu-patu the man who slew Rau-mati on account of his burning the 'Arawa' canoe (see J.P.S., Vol. XVII., p. 55, for the history of Rau-mati. . .)

"There have been three celebrated *ngarara*—monsters—in this district—viz., Kataore, Hotu-puku, and Peke-haua, all of which were killed by Pitaka, according to the accounts. If these monsters had lived there would not have been any of the seed of man left; it is well that they were killed.

The following is the descent from those who lived in the times when Kataore was slain, down to the present day."

(See the table in the original Maori.)

* To call another a "head" is a curse, as in *upoko tahuna*, burnt head.

† From this expression—*ita*—comes the name of the Taupo tribe, Ngati-Rangi-ita. Rangi-ita being an ancestor named in remembrance of the above incident.



NOTES AND QUERIES.

[206] Origin of the word *Kanaka*.

In the discussion which followed the reading of a paper on the "Western Pacific" by Sir Everard im Thurm, published in the September number of "The Geographical Journal," p. 288, Mr. Basil Thomson (late of Fiji) says, "Sir Everard im Thurm just now invited anyone who could rise and explain the etymology of the word *Kanaka*. Well, I am not sure that I am an authority upon the matter, but I would suggest *tangata*; the *t* and *k* are interchangeable all over the Pacific, and I believe the word to be *tangata*, which is the Fijian *tanata*, which simply means 'man.'" Mr. Basil Thompson is no doubt right, and the origin of the change from *t* to *k* so far as this word is concerned is as follows: *Kanaka* is a Hawaiian word originally, and came into use in the early years of last century, when so many native Hawaiians shipped on board whaling vessels. It means "man;" and thus came to be applied to all the dark-coloured peoples of the Pacific. The word, however, in Hawaii, was originally *tanata*, and the change to *kanaka* only took place at the latter end of the eighteenth century, when the Hawaiians changed their *t* to a *k* in every case in which the former occurs—a similar change to that which occurred in Samoan in the early years of the nineteenth century. In its original Hawaiian form of *tanata*, the word is the exact reproduction of the *tanata* of the Ngati-Awa and Ure-wera tribes of the Bay of Plenty, New Zealand, which in other tribes is *tangata*, as it is in Rarotonga and many other places, and which in Tahiti has become attenuated into *ta'ata*, all meaning "man" and "men" (both *vir* and *homo*).

EDITOR.

[207] *Le ua Niua Islands*.

In note No 205 (Vol. XVIII., p. 154) we referred to this island and to its great interest as possibly containing in its present inhabitants a belated branch of the original migration of the Polynesians into the Pacific, who were probably Samoans. In the paper quoted in Note 206, *supra*, Sir E. im Thurm refers to this island as being within his jurisdiction as High Commissioner, and furnishes some illustrations. He says, "When I visited the place only four years ago, and necessarily for a brief time, it was quite evident that the original conditions of native life prevailed here to a degree unusual, if not unprecedented, elsewhere in the Pacific. But the copra traders have since pushed their business further, and if any ethnologist wishes for a good opportunity of studying native life he should go to Ongtong Java (*Le ua Niua*) without delay." We wish to emphasize this statement in the strongest manner; for to anyone properly equipped with a knowledge of the Polynesian language and traditions an opening is here offered of securing most important contributions to the history of the Polynesian race—their language, customs, and traditions. This island would be virgin soil to anyone who would spend a year or so there, and the results would probably be of the greatest interest. Here is an opportunity for some man of wealth to aid in a great work.

Stewart's, or Sikaiana, another island near the East Coast of the Solomon Islands, presents a further field of enquiry, for the inhabitants are Polynesians, though probably much mixed with Melanesians. Their language appears closely connected with Maori.

EDITOR.

[208] **Origin of the names of the Rarotongan Arikis, or High Chiefs.**

We preface Mr. Savage's remarks with the statement that there are many *Arikis* in Rarotonga, but the families, the origins of whose names he gives are those of the three governing families; and that their origin dates back to, or precedes, the settlement of Rarotonga in the thirteenth century.

EDITOR.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF PA.

The name of *Pā* had its origin from the contest that Iro-nui had with Tane. After Iro had chased Tane from one heaven to another until he was just entering the greatest heaven (*Te-rangi-tua-tini*), Iro caught him by the foot and called out to Tane, "*Te pā nei au i a koe i te rangi-tūa-tini*"—"I smite you here in the greatest heaven—tenth heaven;" or it may be translated, "In the greatest heaven I smite you." As the tradition tells us, Tane begged for quarter and Iro gave him his life. Some time after, Iro visited Tahiti-nui and there took a wife named *Te-toko-o-te-rangi*, and by her had children—the eldest son he called by these names: *Pā-i-te-rangi-tua-nui* and *Pa-ki-te-tua-kura-o-Tane*—both in memory of the time when he captured Tane and was about to smite him. This son he also called *Ta-i-te-ariki*—this was the son who *Tangiia-nui-o-te-pa-enua-tinitini* adopted and gave the name of *Te-ariki-upoko-tini*.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF TINO-MANA.

Motoro, the son of *Tangiia*, by his wife *Puatarā*, was the first one to receive the name of *Tino-mana*, from the fact that he was not injured by the fire when *Tutapu* set fire to the mountain "*Aora'i*" at Tahiti. The name means "absolute power," and may also be translated, "body vested with power." Motoro had several names, but Motoro was his first, and he was generally known by that name; *Tama-au-ariki* was his second, and *Te-Ariki-Tino-mana* his third; his other names I shall give at some future date.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF MAKEA.

According to *Vakapora*, the *matapi*, or chief, of highest rank in *Makea-nui's* portion of the *Avarua* district, the name of *Makea* was given to *Putaki-te-tai* (whose proper name was *Te-ariki-maru*); *Putaki-te-tai* being the name given to him by *Karika* in memory of his battle and defeat by *Tangiia* off the Island of *Maketu* (an island known by that name at that period in the *Paumotu* group), after the return of the *Ngati-Tangiia* who accompanied *Karika* and his party to *Iva* to cut down the *tamanu* tree growing there, and known by the name of *Pata* (*Vakapora* says that this was the name of the tree and not of a canoe, for the canoe that the *Ngati-Tangiia* and the priests *Potiki-taua*, *More*, *Tara-mai-te-tonga*, *Maoate-atua*, and *Manu-aitu* built out of this tree was called *Oro-tere* and *Oro-kuri*, and that this canoe was brought to Rarotonga when they returned here), for the purpose of making a great canoe out of it. This party of *Ngati-Tangiia*, when they returned to Rarotonga, informed *Tangiia-nui* and the *Ngati-Tangiia* of the treachery of *Karika* and his party and of *Karika's* death. *Tangiia* then gave this child *Putaki-te-tai* the additional name of *Makākā-o-nga-nio-atua*—(the tartar on

the god's teeth) ; the gods were Tonga-iti and Maru-mamao—both Tangiia's gods. Vakapora further says that Karika had only one god, Rangatira-varu-eke—a female god.

I saw Terei about the foregoing statements and he says that they are correct. Terei is, as well as being a descendant of Tangiia-nui, a descendant of More-te-taunga-o-te-tini, one of the high priests, and he holds that position at the present time.

S. SAVAGE.

[209] Fale'ula Library.

The American Geographical Society has published an excellent bibliography of Polynesian works, contained in the library of our fellow member Mr. W. Churchill, of Brooklyn, New York. The thanks of Polynesian scholars are due to the Geographical Society for thus enabling us to see the names of works not generally known ; and also to Mr. Churchill for the compilation of the work. Mr. Churchill would be the last to claim for this list, that it is complete. As a matter of fact, it does not mention several works on the Polynesians ; but it does note several of rare occurrence.

The author has been liberal enough to send us several copies, and we shall be glad to despatch one to anyone interested if they will send us two penny postage stamps.

EDITOR.



TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

A MEETING of the Council was held at the Library on the 21st December. Present:—The President, Messrs. W. W. Smith, W. H. Skinner, J. H. Parker, W. L. Newman, and F. P. Corkill.

Correspondence was dealt with. It was reported that two members had resigned, and another, Judge A. Mackay, had died since the last meeting.

It was agreed to exchange publications with the United States National Museum, Washington, and also to publish the list of exchanges annually instead of quarterly as heretofore.

The following list of publications received was read:—

- 2428 *Bijdragen*—Koninklijk Instituut. Vol. lxxiii. The Hague.
- 2429 *Catalogues*—Koloniale Bibliotheek Instituut. The Hague.
- 2430 *Geologische-en Technische Aanteekeningus*—de Suriname.
- 2431-3 *The Geographical Journal*. September to November, 1909.
- 2434-7 *The Science of Man*. September to December, 1909.
- 2438-40 *Na Mata*. September to November, 1909.
- 2441 *Annual Report*. Australasian Museum, 1909.
- 2442 *Aboriginal Carvings*—W. D. Campbell, Mines Department, Sydney.
- 2424 *Records*—Geological Survey, New South Wales. Vol. vi., p. 4; Vol. vii., p. 1.
- 2445-6 *Revue*—De L'Ecole D'Anthropologie de Paris. August to October, 1909.
- 2447 *Proceedings*—New Zealand Institute. Part 2, 1909.
- 2448 *The American Antiquarian*. June to August, 1909.
- 2449 *Prieres et Invocations Magiques*—Madagascar. Presented by Rev. H. J. Fletcher.
- 2450 *Un Texte Aribico*—Malgache du xvi. Siecle. Presented by Rev. H. J. Fletcher.
- 2451 *Directors' Report*—1908. Bernice Pauahi Museum.
- 2452 *The Fale'ula Library*—Wm. Churchill, published by The American Geographical Society.
- 2453-4 *Bulletin*—American Geographical Society. September-October, 1909.
- 2455 *Mitteilungen*—Anthropological Society of Vienna. Vol. xxxix, 3, 4.
- 2456 *Journal*—Royal Anthropological Institute. Vol. xxxix.
- 2457 *Index to Fornander's "Polynesian Race."*
- 2458 *Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of South California*—University of California.
- 2459 *The Perfect Way*. Presented by Jane Miller Fisher.
- 2460 *Report*—United States National Museum, 1908.
- 2461 *The Maoris of New Zealand*—By J. Cowan. (Presented by Whitcombe and Tombs).

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